

THE *Nonconformist*

"THE DISSIDENCE OF DISSENT AND THE PROTESTANTISM OF THE PROTESTANT RELIGION."

VOL. XI.—NEW SERIES, No. 298.]

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, JULY 30, 1851.

PRICE 6d.

KINGSLAND NEW CONGREGATIONAL CHAPEL.

THE FOUNDATION STONE of the above place of Worship will be laid on Tuesday afternoon, August 5th, at half-past four o'clock, by Frederick Charles Wilkins, Esq., of Clapton, Treasurer of the Building Fund. An address will be delivered by the Rev. Thomas Aveling. A public tea-meeting will be held in the British School-rooms, at six o'clock, when several ministers and friends will deliver addresses.

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PRESIDENT—The RIGHT HON. LORD ROBERT GROS-VENOR, M.P.

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Total Amount of Premiums received £6,114 12 4

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"THE DISSIDENCE OF DISSENT AND THE PROTESTANTISM OF THE PROTESTANT RELIGION."

VOL. XI.—NEW SERIES, No. 298.]

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, JULY 30, 1851.

[PRICE 6d.]

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ECCLIASTICAL AFFAIRS.

"WHAT? AND WHO SAYS IT?"

A MAJORITY of members in the House of Commons, partly from habit, partly from motives of action less excusable, having allowed Lord John Russell to lead them into an untenable position, on the question of Jewish disabilities, have, consistently enough, attempted to hide their folly by stifling discussion. It is not pleasant to be reminded of the blunders we commit. It is anything but agreeable to see conclusions which we have adopted in the first heat of party spirit, dragged forth and examined by the light of a searching logic. Most men are impatient of argument when conscious that they are wrong, and nothing seems more prosy to a delinquent than that train of reasoning which convicts him of having got into an awkward mess. Every allowance ought, therefore, to be made for the irritability of Lord John and his followers, in view of the question arising out of Mr. Salomon's election. He and they, it is now quite plain, might have taken a course as little open to legal objection as the one they have chosen to follow, and one which would also have vindicated the independence of the House of Commons, asserted the rights of constituencies, enlarged the domain of religious liberty in this country, and given bold and forcible expression to public opinion out of doors. They have acted in a manner precisely the contrary to this. They have stuck to a narrow and literal interpretation of an act of Parliament, which interpretation will have to be reviewed by a court of law, and, possibly, pronounced to be incorrect—and, in doing this, they have truckled to the Lords, they have placed themselves in antagonism to popular feeling, and they have commenced a contest in which they are certain of meeting with ultimate defeat. Men in such circumstances are not likely to court discussion. Their only defence consists in their majority of votes; and to this they have resorted without scruple.

On some questions, the authority of Lord John Russell may be regarded as safe. On those which relate to the position in which the House of Commons should stand to the House of Lords, he is, we think, one of the last men to be implicitly trusted. Descended from a noble stock, and believing fervently in the hereditary right of a few great families, including his own, to manage the political affairs of the empire, he is not likely to favour conclusions the effect of which would be to limit the inordinate pretensions of his own titled class. His sympathies are with the peers, rather than with the people. He has a livelier concern for the maintenance of privilege than for that of right. He does profounder homage to prescription than to reason. He is not wanting in courage; but it is seldom or ever displayed in conflicts with his "order." Where he yields you may be sure he is in favour of oligarchical claims. Where he stands firm you may take for granted that it is in resistance of a popular demand. We question much whether his interpretation of law on the subject of Jewish disabilities would have been rigidly technical, if such interpretation would have committed him to oppose a majority of the House of Peers. He has read the statutes affecting the cases of Baron Rothschild and Mr. Salomons through the coloured glass of his own aristocratic predilections, and the conclusion at which he arrives being in harmony with the pretensions of nobility, he adheres to them pertinaciously, under guise of respect for law. Beaten in argument, he betakes himself to silent voting; and where his intellect fails to clear the way, he resorts to his well-trained bands of political supporters to force

one for him. He has achieved a temporary triumph—the day of discomfiture remains in store for him.

The great error of which the noble lord has been guilty in this case, is that of taking upon himself, not the making of law, but the interpretation of it, on a question about which high legal authorities were at variance, and on which even those who concurred with him were compelled to speak with hesitation. Lord John Russell has moved the House to pronounce a decided opinion, and to give to that opinion a practically punitive effect. He has excluded from membership a gentleman, who can plead a legal right to all its privileges, on the assumption that the claim made is not in conformity with a certain statute of the realm. The question, therefore, between Mr. Salomons and the House of Commons, is a simple question of legal construction, and, as such, can only be decided by a legal tribunal. The House, consequently, under his lordship's guidance, finds itself in this undesirable predicament. It has expounded certain statutes in a sense which a Court of law may hereafter repudiate as incorrect; and, however stoutly it may resist interference with its privileges, *ab externo*, it is quite clear that, should the judges decide that Mr. Salomons has taken the oath of abjuration in the form required by law, he can thereafter be excluded from the House of Commons only by an arbitrary and unconstitutional resolution. But any such resolution will be in the teeth of the written law, as interpreted by its authorized exponents, and the House, instead of setting an example of obedience to the law, will be guilty of a palpable infraction of it. It is not for us, of course, to anticipate the issue. Two actions have been commenced against Mr. Salomons for the recovery of the penalties he has incurred for sitting and voting in the House, he, according to the opinion of the majority, not being a member of it. It remains to be seen whether the judges will differ with the House on that point. If they do, the House may bluster for a while, but must speedily swallow its humiliation, and succumb.

We cannot but attribute very much of the present discreditable dilemma of the House of Commons to the peddling policy of Lord John Russell. His first measure was conceived in a generous spirit—he should have adhered to it, and evinced a determination to carry it. Several expressions were let drop in the House of Lords to the effect that, had the question been presented to them as a broad and comprehensive proposition for abolishing obsolete and unnecessary oaths, their view of it might have been less unfavourable than that taken of the narrow measure sent up to their House a few weeks back. There may be more pretence than reality in this; but, assuredly, Lord Shaftesbury, who threw out the hint, is not usually suspected of insincere professions. Lord John has yet to learn that it is more difficult to carry out a principle in a partial manner, and for a special occasion, than to give it full and unrestricted embodiment—and that it is easier to do things well than to do them by halves. He spends far more time, and encounters far more resistance, in tinkering an old and unservicable vessel than he would be required to do in throwing it away and getting an entirely new one. Most of his vexations and defeats originate in his excessive caution. Almost all the obstacles which obstruct his march are obstacles only because he wants the will to surmount them. He will never be an irresistible victor so long as he is contented to be known as "little Lord John."

ANTI-STATE-CHURCH ASSOCIATION.—On the 22nd inst. a public meeting was held in St. Alban's, when J. Carvell Williams, Esq., the Secretary, and the Rev. I. Doxey, of London, attended as a deputation to explain and advocate the Society's object. It was intended to hold the meeting in the Assembly Room, as on the last occasion, but the Liberty Magistrates having refused to grant the use of the room for the purpose of this meeting, a tent was erected in a meadow outside the town. H. Parsons, Esq., occupied the chair, and in his opening remarks censured the conduct of the magistrates in refusing to allow

the meeting to be held in the hall; and other speakers dwelt on the significance of the fact, that Churchmen almost invariably shrunk from the discussion of the question. The audience was numerous and respectable, and as the evening was a delightful one, no inconvenience was suffered by the meeting being held in such a place. Several Churchmen were present, and attentively listened to the exposure made by the deputation of the bondage and corruption of the Church occasioned by its alliance with the State.

SIR J. BROOK AND THE BISHOPS.—A meeting of the friends and supporters of the Borneo Church Mission was held on Thursday afternoon at the Hanover-square-rooms, the Earl of Ellesmere in the chair. The first resolution was moved by the Lord Bishop of London, who spoke of the suppression of piracy as the work of Sir James Brooke, who "devoted his time, talents, means, and faculties of body and mind to the cause of humanity and civilization." The blessings of Christianity would follow in their track, and the name of Sir James Brooke would be enrolled in the annals of history as the pioneer of Christianity in the Indian Archipelago. The resolution was seconded by the Rajah himself, who was received with loud cheers, and who reminded the meeting that four years ago, in that very room, he intimated his willingness to receive and foster the Bornean Mission. The mission was established, and flourished; and it was something to say, that after four years, there was peace, good-will, and toleration between the Christian and Mahomedan population; and there was now a Dyak population, not one of whom had taken a head. Sarawak was the central point whence the mission must radiate into the interior. The tribes in the interior were given to plunder and to the taking of heads; they were ferocious in their habits, but they were a generous nation: they were not treacherous. He (Sir James) spoke of them as he found them. With respect to himself, he must disclaim the merit of any bold, enthusiastic, and premature plans. His views enlarged with his position. In the course of events his view of his duty became clearer, and, he hoped, better. He (Sir J. Brooke) was the protector of that people; and if it were his misfortune to fall on evil times and on evil tongues, he would bear it. He would in such cases stand by the judgment of his country [tremendous cheers, amid which Sir J. Brooke sat down].

DAMAGES FOR EXCOMMUNICATION.—The case of Dunbar v. Skinner, involving important matters connected with the discipline of the Episcopal Church in Scotland, was set down to be tried before a jury in the First Division of the Edinburgh Court of Session; but having been compromised within a few days previous, was withdrawn from the roll. It was an action for defamation, in which the Rev. Sir William Dunbar claimed damages to the extent of £5,000 from Bishop Skinner, for having, at a meeting of the synod of the clergy of the diocese of Aberdeen, pronounced a sentence excommunicating the rev. baronet as a presbyter of the Church, declaring "all his ministerial acts without authority, as being performed apart from Christ's mystical body," and solemnly warning "all faithful people to avoid all communion with the said Sir William Dunbar, in prayers and sacraments, or in any way giving countenance to him in his present irregular and sinful course, lest they be partakers with him in his sin, and thereby expose themselves to the threatenings denounced against those who cause divisions in the Church." The claim for damages has been settled by the payment of £1,300, with £200 towards the legal expenses connected with an appeal to the House of Lords, as to the right of the civil court to interfere in the case at all.

THE LAW OF BURIAL.—Some months ago a memorial addressed to the archbishops and bishops of the provinces of Canterbury and York, upon the present unsatisfactory state of the Law of Burial, was extensively circulated amongst the clergy. The result is that about 4,000 of this body have attached their signatures thereto, and the committee who were charged with the management of it have presented it to the archbishops and bishops. No official reply has yet been given, but it is understood that many of the right rev. prelates have signified their willingness to attend to the requisition, and have expressed their approbation of its object. —Chronicle.

FREE SITTINGS IN CHURCHES.—According to a return to Parliament just printed, there are in England and Wales 304,064 free sittings established in the several churches, built under the Church Building Acts. The Commissioners consider that they have

no power to sanction the conversion of sittings finally reported to Parliament as free into rented sittings.

ELECTION OF A RECTOR.—On Thursday the parishioners of St. Andrew by the Wardrobe, with St. Anne, Blackfriars, exercised the rare privilege of electing a pastor in the room of the late rector, the Rev. J. Harding, appointed to the bishopric of Bombay. The patronage of the rectory of these united parishes (value £483 per annum, with residence), is vested also in the Lord Chancellor alternately and the parishioners not receiving alms, three candidates were put forward, Rev. Mr. Wilkinson, Rev. Mr. Webster, and Rev. Mr. Child. The show of hands for the two first-named gentlemen was equal, being twenty-three for each, the churchwarden making it twenty-four for Mr. Wilkinson, those for the Rev. Mr. Child being only four. A poll was taken yesterday, and Mr. Webster was chosen by 159 to 139.

THE REV. MR. BLEW, of Gravesend, who was suspended by the Bishop of Rochester, has sold his proprietary church to Cardinal Wiseman.

CONSECRATION OF ROMAN CATHOLIC BISHOPS.—On Friday, Dr. Turner and Dr. Berrington were consecrated, at Manchester, to the sees of Salford and Plymouth respectively; Cardinal Wiseman and Archbishop Cullen officiating. On Sunday, Dr. Burgess and Dr. Brown were consecrated, at Southwark Cathedral, Bishops of Shrewsbury and Clifton. On both occasions the ceremonial was very imposing, and the spectators very numerous, at prices of admission ranging from eightpence to five shillings. It appears that in the ceremony of investiture, the usual question referring to the appointment by the Holy See "*Habitis mandatum Apostolicum*" was not put; as the retrospective operation of Sir F. Thesiger's amendment would have rendered the production, or admitted possession, of such a document dangerous.

MR. G. THOMPSON AND HIS CONSTITUENTS.—A crowded meeting of the electors and non-electors of the Tower Hamlets was held at the Cowper-street School-room, on Wednesday evening last, to receive from their representative, on his return from the United States, an account of the reason of his absence. Mr. Thompson was well received, and addressed the meeting with his usual persuasiveness; assuring them that it was only incessant and pressing applications to remain in the States and in Canada that detained him after the time he had intended to return. He confessed that he ought to have written to his constituents—in every other respect he felt self-justified. Mr. Moore proposed, "That this meeting having heard the explanatory statement of George Thompson, Esq., desire to express their satisfaction with that statement, their renewed confidence in his determination to stand by the great principles of public freedom, and their determination, in the case of a general election, to give him their manly and unabated support." An amendment was proposed, but only one hand was held up for it; and the motion was then carried unanimously, with three cheers for Mr. Thompson, who returned thanks in a speech that was loudly applauded, and the meeting separated, after a vote of thanks to the chairman.

EXPLOSION OF FIRE DAMP IN A COAL-MINE.—Mr. Henry Fazakerley, a young gentleman who had just succeeded to the Gillibrand Hall and Fazakerley estates, and Mr. James Green, a young friend from London, with a miner and an underlooker, have perished in a coal-pit at Chorley. The gentlemen appear to have descended the shaft from curiosity; Mr. Green unwillingly, and only after repeated assurances from the colliers that the pit was safe. The party had an unprotected light; an explosion of fire-damp ensued; and all four were killed. From subsequent inquiries, it appears that the pit was a dangerous one to descend, the ventilation having been very defective. Mr. Fazakerley, and Taylor, a miner, descended the deep shaft first; their lights were extinguished. Unwarned by this, Taylor returned to the service, and descended with Mr. Green and Billinge, Taylor taking lighted candles and a flaming torch; Mr. Smith, a friend of Mr. Fazakerley, declined to make one in the dangerous adventure. When all arrived at the bottom of the shaft, they walked with the blazing torch up the only working; an explosion ensued, and the scorched and bruised bodies were hurled along the gallery into the water of the "sump-hole" at the foot of the shaft.

THE KING EDWARD RAGGED SCHOOLS AND EASTERN REFUGE FOR THE DESTITUTE, Spitalfields, were formally opened on Wednesday afternoon, when the Earl of Shaftesbury, the Duke of Grafton, Lord Radstock, the Rev. Thomas Binney, and Mr. S. Gurney, addressed a numerous company of ladies and gentlemen. The building, which is in the pointed Elizabethan style, stands in Albert-street, Buxton-street, Spitalfields. The total outlay, including a large plot of freehold land, has amounted to about £3,500, but it is estimated that £2,000 additional will have to be spent on furniture, fittings, &c. About £2,200 of this sum has been subscribed, leaving £1,500 still to be provided for. The school and class-room will accommodate 500 children. The arrangements are the completest possible, and will afford a fair opportunity for the ameliorating influences of the institution upon a population deeply needing its exertions. We hope, therefore, the sum required will speedily be placed in the hands of the laborious hon. sec., Mr. H. R. Williams, whose indefatigable exertions were justly acknowledged with high praise.

The *Daily News* speaks of "the English Dissenters, and all Scotland," as "objecting to music in churches on principle." An illustration of the general knowledge of Dissenters and their principles evinced by this so-called liberal paper.

RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

DELPH, SADDLEWORTH, YORKSHIRE.—The Rev. John George, of Market Weighton, has accepted a cordial and unanimous invitation to the pastorate of the Independent Church in this place, and commences his stated labours next Christmas.

SANDEN, LANCASHIRE.—On the evening of Sunday week, the Rev. C. Kirkland took his farewell of the Baptist Church here, prior to his removal to Canterbury. His numerous friends presented him with a pecuniary token of esteem and regret for the loss of his valuable services.

TOTNES, DEVON.—The Rev. T. Raffles Hoskin, late assistant minister of Great George-street Chapel, Liverpool, has accepted a cordial invitation to become the pastor of the Church assembling in the Independent Chapel, Ashburton-road, Totnes. He will enter on his stated duties on the first Sabbath in August.

BARON ROTHSCHILD, ALDERMAN SALOMON, AND THEIR CONSTITUENTS.—A general meeting was held at the London Tavern, on Thursday, at the call of Baron Rothschild. The Baron made a speech in proposing a chairman, and offered to resign his seat, which the meeting would not hear of. Mr. R. Currie was then elected to the chair, from about twenty M.P.'s present. The chief speakers were Mr. John Dillon, Mr. Ingram Travers, Mr. Osborne, M.P., Mr. Samuel Morley, Mr. F. Bannoch, Lord Dudley Stuart, M.P., Sir Henry Bateman, Mr. Anstey, M.P., and Alderman Salomons, M.P. The speakers were all very severe on the House of Lords, and every mention of Lord John Russell's name was received with indications of his intense unpopularity among the liberal electors. Apropos to a suggestion by Mr. Scobbe, that Baron de Rothschild also should "take his seat," Mr. Salomons pointed out how different his own case was from that of the Baron. He had no one but himself to look to; but the Baron was engaged in business, and had the care of the property of others as well as his own.

Since 1848, I have not been engaged in business, and, consequently, any steps that I might undertake involving personal consequences or penal liabilities would attach them only to myself. It was therefore my good fortune, when I came forward for Greenwich, to be able to make up my mind to a course that many persons may consider exceedingly reckless. I was determined, as far as I could, to withstand party law in the House of Commons, and throw myself on the legal tribunals of the country, from which I knew I could expect justice in the event of my election. Having come to that determination, and aided by the countenance of many liberal members, I determined to go down and take my seat, and to vote. I determined to do nothing unbecoming a gentleman, but everything becoming an Englishman, not only to maintain my own rights and the rights of my constituents, but the rights of every constituency in the empire to choose whom they please, who is under no legal disability to represent their interests in the Commons House of Parliament. I did so; you know the result, and I am proud of it. I have now pending against me two actions at law. I have been served by two separate parties with notice of action for the penalties I have incurred in sitting and voting in the House of Commons. I believe very few persons in this kingdom know the danger in which I stand. I have given three votes. I went out on three separate divisions, and recorded my vote on each of those divisions. For that imprudence I am liable to an action at law; and, should a verdict be recorded against me, I shall be in this position—I shall forfeit the sum of £500 either in the aggregate, or for each vote, and I care very little which [loud cheers]. But that is not the whole of the penalty. If I am found guilty, I become a "Popish recusant convict" [laughter]. Now just hear what the law of the country is, as laid down by some lawyers in the House of Commons. If I become a "Popish recusant convict," I cannot take a legacy, I cannot sue, I cannot be the guardian of any child, I dare not vote at any election for a member of Parliament; every office I hold I shall be stripped of, I must lay down my aldermanic gown, be struck out of the commission of the peace, and become a sort of political Cain, wandering throughout the land, a vagabond and fugitive [cheers and laughter].

The upshot of the meeting was a resolution to the effect that Ministers can only entitle themselves to the confidence of Reformers by being prepared to stand or fall by such measures as the Jew Bill; and the meeting called upon the Prime Minister, as member for London, forthwith to introduce into the House of Lords, as a Cabinet measure, a bill for the total abolition of the present oath of abjuration. A petition was also agreed to, based on the resolution. Alderman Salomons afterwards met the electors of Greenwich; by whom he was enthusiastically received, and the petition which Sir Benjamin Hall has presented was agreed to.

AMERICAN FUGITIVE SLAVES.—It will be seen from an advertisement in another column, that a *soirée* is to be held on Friday next, in the Hall of Commerce, to commemorate the anniversary of West India negro emancipation, by the American fugitive slaves now in London. The occasion is one which ought to attract a large attendance of the friends of freedom, and as the assemblage will be presided over by a fugitive slave, and be addressed by several others of that persecuted class, we doubt not it will be one of no ordinary interest. A crowded and enthusiastic audience will not only tell in England, but find an echo across the Atlantic.

THE SELECT COMMITTEE ON NEWSPAPER STAMPS have published their report. They do not directly recommend the abolition of the stamp, but declare that "news is not in itself a desirable subject of taxation;" and recommend an act for securing a short copyright to articles of original news.

THE GREAT EXHIBITION.

Whatever we might have to say under this head must suffer compression, in common with all other matters, into the smallest space. Suffice it to say, that the attendance at the Crystal Palace has varied with the aspects of the skies. On Wednesday it was only 50,599, and the receipts £2,438 14s.; on Thursday the number was 44,468, and the payments £2,236 1s.; Friday, a half-crown day, £2,984 was taken at the doors, and 26,882 persons entered the building; on Saturday, only £1,478 was taken, the number of visitors being 10,399—so small a number that it is expected that the Commission will reduce the price on Saturdays to the level of Fridays. On Monday, 67,170 persons were admitted, and £3,194 13s. taken.

From the opening till Saturday, no less than 2,929,778 visits have been paid to the Exhibition; £66,638 6s. has now been received from the sale of season tickets; and the amount taken in payment at the doors has been £181,011 6s. With subscriptions, therefore, the total income of the Royal Commission now considerably exceed £300,000.

In a communication to the *Times*, Mr. Paxton says:—"I have duly considered the outlay which would be requisite to put the building as it now stands into good condition for permanent use, and have procured from Messrs. Fox and Henderson an estimate of the cost for removing all the boarded sides and substituting glass, and also for putting the roof and every other part in efficient repair, which they engage to do at a cost from £12,000 to £15,000. I have also procured an estimate from the same gentlemen of the expenses for keeping the building in perfect repair and order during a period of twenty-one years, and this they offer to do for the sum of £5,500 per annum. To prove that no public grant will be necessary, highly responsible parties are ready to take the building on a lease of twenty-one years, if permitted to do so; and, that the purposes for which it would be retained might be fully answered, they are willing to subject their tariff of public admission to the control and supervision of Government. The only thing now to be decided is, whether the Crystal Palace shall stand or not."

Mr. Robert Stephenson, the mutual umpire, has awarded the sum of £5,120 to Messrs. George and James Munday, as a compensation for losing the contract to construct the Exhibition building, and £587 1s. 4d. costs, to be paid by the Society of Arts.

THE FRIENDS OF ITALY.—The increasing interest in Italian affairs has originated a society called the Association of the Friends of Italy. Its mode of action is to be by lectures, tracts, the publication of authentic documents and expository works, and by appeals to Parliament. In an initiatory address its objects are thus summed up—

To promote a correct knowledge of the Italian question, to stimulate the expression of just public opinion on the Italian question, and to urge the Parliament and the Government of the country to an appropriate course of national action in the Italian question—such are the aims of this society. Its funds are not to be expended in subsidies for war, or in any other way contrary to the spirit and habits of Englishmen. It is to pronounce nothing, to dictate nothing, as to the form or forms of national government which it might be desirable to set up in Italy. This question of the future internal organization of Italy it regards as belonging exclusively to the Italian people. It is strictly a society of Englishmen, working within the English territory, and according to English methods, for the freedom and independence of the Italian nation."

The Council includes the names of many active and influential men; among them, Lord Dudley Stuart, and several other members of Parliament, Mr. Walter Savage Landor, Professor Francis W. Newman, Mr. Edward Miall, Mr. William Conningham, Mr. W. C. Macready.

THE WESLEYAN CONFERENCE commences its sittings this day at Newcastle-on-Tyne, under the presidency of the Rev. J. Scott. A preliminary meeting of preachers has been held, but its proceedings were secret. It is intended to hold a "people's conference" in the same town before the close of the "preachers' conference."

CATHOLIC PRIESTS AND THE CHILDREN OF THEIR FLOCKS.—A Roman Catholic priest is accused by the secretary of the Ragged Schools, in a letter to the *Times*, of exciting the ill feeling of the people against the schools in Edward-mews, near Manchester-square. The women and children have torn up Bibles, Testaments, and little reward-books, with "horrible yells," opposite the schools. The priests are said to have threatened their flocks that, if their children were not removed from the schools, their names would be called at the altar. The proximate cause of the outburst, which took place so long ago as the 16th inst., was an attempt on the part of the priest to get at the names of the children in the school by walking in and asking them their names.—William Weale, the schoolmaster of the Roman Catholic school in Islington, said to be also a priest of the chapel in Duncan-terrace, has been brought before the magistrate at Clerkenwell Police-court, by some neighbouring tradesmen, for cruelly flogging one of his boys with a gutta percha whip. The worst feature in the case was, that neither the father nor mother of the child displayed any indignation towards "the father," as they styled him, and would not be a party to his punishment. Mr. Combe, however, sent the case to the sessions, and Mr. Hinchley, who had humanely interfered, has undertaken to prosecute.

SIR JOHN FRANKLIN'S PARTY.—The *Dundee Warder* relates that, in February, a party of the crew of the "Flora," of Hull, Captain Robb, guided by some Esquimaux, discovered the interred and frozen remains of four persons, supposed to be of Sir John Franklin's party, one of the bodies bearing the name of "H. Carr" on the arm.

PEACE CONGRESS AT EXETER HALL.

(From our Second Edition of last week, with additions and corrections.)

INTRODUCTORY SKETCH.

THE fifth session of the Peace Congress—for its sittings may now be looked for in each succeeding year with as much regularity as those of Parliament—opened yesterday week, at Exeter Hall, amidst circumstances in every way auspicious. Its meetings have not only acquired a world-wide celebrity, but have obtained adhesions to the cause of universal peace from all parts of Europe and America. In some of the leading cities, such as Paris, Brussels, Frankfort, New York, and Washington, its influence is exerted in an organised form. From these centres of intelligence, light is being gradually diffused over the mass of the community who have felt, but thought little upon, the horrors of war. And once more this light has been concentrated in a focus, in that city where the gathering of the people of all nations to share in the Industrial Jubilee of 1851, furnishes the best omen of the not distant realization of the brotherhood of nations. Indeed, at the present moment, London may, without hyperbole, be described as one vast Peace Congress, helping towards the accomplishment of the great idea; and the hundreds of thousands who flock to the Crystal Palace to behold the trophies of industry, and to exchange sympathies within that Temple of Peace, are all contributing, if unconsciously, their mite towards the furtherance of those principles which have had a more articulate expression in Exeter Hall. The Palais de Paxton daily evolves that opinion on a gigantic scale, if not in a very tangible form, which Exeter Hall would condense into an enduring principle. No wonder, then, that in this year of jubilee for all thoughts and arts that involve the advancement of mankind, the friends of Peace should gather together in numbers and variety sufficient to give the Congress a cosmopolitan character. A stranger straying, by accident, into Exeter Hall, on Tuesday morning, might, without any violent effort of imagination, have regarded the meeting there assembled as an adjournment from the Great Exhibition. Nowhere else but beneath the crystal roof in Hyde Park could such a multitude be gathered together in the metropolis. All civilized Europe, and all classes of the community, had here their representatives; and, important as the proceedings of the Congress were, the fact that here were assembled, for the simple object of promoting "peace on earth, and good will amongst men," some thousand or more earnest-hearted men, the picked types of a still larger circle—many of them enjoying a world-wide fame for their talents, attainments, or eloquence—a still larger number exercising a decided influence, whether as ministers, writers, or teachers in the formation of opinion and character—and all, perhaps, occupying no mean sphere of influence in their respective countries and neighbourhoods—is, perhaps, the most solemn and encouraging feature which marks the event. The mighty power that has been concentrated and is at the service of the Peace Congress is, in sober truth, a subject for ardent congratulation and sanguine hopes; and as we looked around that assembly of some 4,000 persons, and heard, one after another, the names of deep-thinking, eminent, and influential men—the pioneers of all that is great and good—who have enlisted in the Peace cause, we felt that the object had assumed a truly practical character, and seemed to be approaching with a nearness that was almost startling. We felt—to quote the effective verses read to the meeting in the course of the sitting, by Dr. Aspinall, of Liverpool—that

"Sure as comes the hour,
Shall come our bond of brotherhood."

Let any man—not an enthusiast, but of a "practical" turn of mind—endeavour to estimate the mental and moral power and earnestness represented at Exeter Hall on Tuesday last—the labour and expense incurred in bringing so vast and varied an assembly together from all parts of Europe and America, to hasten the triumph of principles only remotely appealing to their selfish feelings—let him work it out as an arithmetical problem, and say whether here is not sufficient leaven to permeate civilized society. But we beg pardon for wandering from our object, which is to rather furnish food for the reflections of others than to offer our own.

Exeter Hall might appear to be rather unfitted, by reason of its vastness, for a deliberative assembly; and this is, we believe, the first occasion on which

it has been used for such a purpose. This objection, however, did not deter the friends of peace from appearing there in full force on Tuesday. By 11 o'clock, the time for commencing proceedings, the Hall was comfortably full. The platform was occupied by the more distinguished members of the Congress; in the front rank of which was many a familiar face, the owner of which had grown grey in the service of religion, philanthropy, or freedom. On each side they were flanked by an array of visitors, chiefly of the fair sex, amongst whom the close-fitting Quaker bonnet formed a prominent and suggestive feature. In front of the platform were seated the great body of the Delegates; the majority bearing unmistakable evidence on their countenances that they had only occasionally been within sound of Bow bells. Behind them, both below and in the gallery, was a perfect sea of faces, of both sexes, waiting in patient suspense the opening of the Congress. To the visitors in the background a large portion of the proceedings were little better than dumb show; for it is not every speaker who can boast of lungs sufficiently powerful to fill Exeter Hall. Not a few of the best speeches were, we believe, almost inaudible to the distant listener. The orderly character of the proceedings, as a whole, was therefore all the more creditable to the vast assembly who patiently sat for from four to five hours, for three days, to promote, by their presence and approbation, the cause of universal peace.

The committee found a most appropriate President in the person of Sir David Brewster, who, as Mr. Cobden well remarked, brought to the aid of the Peace cause the logical precision of the man of science. We believe that some hopes were entertained that the post would have been occupied by the Archbishop of Dublin; but that distinguished prelate, after deliberating two days, felt himself obliged to decline the honour, though his personal sympathies strongly disposed him to accept it. Few men could add greater weight and lustre to any good cause than Sir D. Brewster. Besides possessing a pre-eminent name for his scientific attainments and discoveries—especially in optics and the polarization of light—he occupies a high position as an author and a philosopher. With him science has truly been the handmaid of religion. Attached to the Scotch Established Church, his earnest religious convictions induced him to run the risk of losing caste, by attaching himself to the Free Church in the controversy which ended in the disruption of 1844, and he has ever proved himself a firm and decided advocate of religious freedom—sometimes battling against University Tests, at others asserting with his pen the ecclesiastical rights of his fellow-subjects. Sir David is a thorough-going, earnest, consistent man, of whom Scotland, and, indeed, Great Britain, may well be proud. Last year he presided, with great ability, over the meetings of the British Association at Edinburgh. A man who can hold fast to, and not be ashamed of, his religious convictions while courted by the great in intellect and wealth—who can unite the simplicity and honesty of the sage with the refinement of the scholar—who can run counter to fashionable opinions, assert religious freedom where it is at a discount and calculated to injure his worldly position, and ally himself, irrespective of present circumstances, with all that is true and progressive, is deserving of the veneration and esteem of all truth-loving men. In his heart, intellect, and aspirations, Sir David is every inch a man. The marked cordiality with which he was received on his appearance as President of the Peace Congress, attested the judicious selection of the committee; although the feebleness of his delivery prevented the great bulk of his auditors appreciating as it deserved, the appropriate and beautiful address with which he opened the Congress. We need say nothing more respecting it, than to claim for it an attentive perusal by all who are willing to bestow a little trouble for the sake of a great pleasure.

We have already spoken of the array of influential names, in all parts of Europe and America, who have enlisted under the banner of the Peace Congress. This, to our minds, was the most significant fact connected with the first day's proceedings—perhaps of the whole Congress. To the question, What progress have you made since you commenced these meetings? the committee need present no other reply than their muster-roll of adherents. Can any philanthropic object of the present day show a list of supporters so rich and varied in all the elements of strength and merit. By way of illustrating our remark, we will string together a few of the more prominent names. Elsewhere we print

a list of twenty-four M.P.'s who have given their adhesion to the Peace cause—comprising not a few tried and able men. Literature and science in this country present a Brewster, a Carlyle, a Jerrold, a Babbage, and a Mackay, besides not a few conductors of the periodical press—abroad, a Humboldt, a Liebig, a Cermenin, a Girardin, a Victor Hugo, a Bodenstedt, and a Sumner. Religion gives its sanction in the direct presence of two hundred ministers of the gospel, of all denominations, including such absentees as the Archbishop of Paris, the Archbishop of Dublin, the Abbé Duguerry, and Pastor Cocquerel. Statesmen are represented by the members of our Legislature, who attended the sittings of the Congress, by a Lamartine, a St. Hilaire, and many foreign senators. Magistrates, municipal authorities, bankers, merchants, commercial associations, professors of colleges, the professions, shopkeepers, and the working classes, had each their representatives in this truly comprehensive assembly. And even those professions which it is the special vocation of the Congress to bring into disrepute contributed its open as well as silent sympathizers—such, for instance, as the veteran General Subervie. Well might Mr. Richard, with becoming pride, refer to these things as an indication of the deep and firm hold the Peace question has taken upon modern public opinion.

The speeches of the Revs. J. A. James and W. Brock—both fortunate in possessing voices capable of filling Exeter Hall—were pointed, practical, and racy, and gave an excellent tone to the meeting. In setting forth the shortcomings of the pulpit in reference to the Peace question, Mr. James was emphatic, impressive, and not unnecessarily severe. His sentiments were heartily re-echoed by the assembly, and we hope they will make their due impression upon his brethren, both in England and America. His call upon the ministers present to signify their determination to do their duty in promoting the principles of peace by rising from their seats, although savouring somewhat of the theatre, was responded to with great enthusiasm. The impression produced by Mr. James's address was well sustained by Mr. Brock, whose happy knack of mixing the grave, the lively, and the humorous, in due proportion, is well known to our readers, and makes him a deservedly popular speaker. As a symptom of progress, he very felicitously referred to the fact that even Thomas Carlyle, who, in his Latter-day Pamphlets, had not spared Exeter Hall, could at length acknowledge that some good could "come out of Nazareth." He denounced, with much effect, the immorality of the barrack-system; and his energetic inquiry, whether the same public opinion which had abolished slavery and the corn-laws could not also do away with the war system, provoked a very hearty response from the meeting. He also effectively quoted Sir Harry Smith's celebrated saying, that "war is an infernal profession." A speech, savouring too strongly of the pulpit, from the Rev. Dr. Aspinall, a clergyman of Liverpool, enabled the audience to calm down after the excitement produced by the preceding speakers. This gentleman, however, won upon his hearers by his impassioned and impressive recitation of some really excellent verses he had composed in honour of the Congress, and obtained a meed of applause which poets are rarely able to extort.

The foreign orators of the day included the Rev. A. Cocquerel, son of the celebrated Parisian orator—a young man of great eloquence and attainments, who, although he spoke in his native tongue, addressed the assembly on several subsequent occasions in very creditable English—a Spanish gentleman, of not very peaceable exterior, who in fluent and most emphatic English, treated the Peace question in a philosophical point of view—and M. Delbruck, the editor of an educational journal in Paris, the drift of whose address, referring to the importance of rightly educating children, and not exciting their warlike propensities even by their playthings, was translated by Mr. Cobden for the benefit of his English friends. As may be imagined, the first appearance of the member for the West Riding provoked a perfect tempest of cheers. Then followed M. Visschers, who also essayed to convey his thoughts in the English language, but whose feeble voice scarcely supported his laudable attempt. A great part of the audience, we fear, lost the opportunity of hearing a very able address (as our report will testify), but they were not the less backward in showing their appreciation of a man who has worked with so much energy and perseverance,

in the promotion of this great question. M. Vischers gave a very flattering account of the progress of Peace principles in his own country—in high places as well as amongst the bulk of the community.

The foreign speech which pleased us most was that delivered by the Rev. Dr. Beckwith, Secretary of the American Peace Society—an earnest and valuable labourer in the good cause. Dr. Beckwith is a comparatively young man, with a fresh-looking and interesting countenance, and a clear emphatic delivery, somewhat damaged by the harshness and abruptness of his tones. With a great want of propriety, some of the visitors at the extremity of the hall—wishing, probably, for some little excitement after hearing so much in an unknown tongue—indulged in frequent interruptions, which drew down a well-merited rebuke from Mr. Richard. The gratifying facts which the doctor related justified his description of the Americans as an eminently "practical people," and we marvel that they did not make a stronger impression upon his auditors. Here was a speaker who, instead of depicting, *usque ad nauseam*, the horrors of war, and declaiming upon its abstract injustice, could come before an audience of Peacemen, and tell them that their Utopia was in America promising to become "a great fact"—that a committee of the Senate had almost unanimously reported in favour of introducing a clause in future treaties with foreign nations, to settle all international disputes by arbitration—that Congress was favourable to it—that the President approved of it—that his Ministers were not only blandly civil, *à la* Palmerston, but cordial in wishing its adoption—and that, in all probability, it will, in another session of the Legislature, become a recognised element in the foreign policy of the country. All honour to the indefatigable Secretary of the American Peace Society, and his coadjutors, for what they have achieved. If what he said was true, his countrymen have got the start of their Peace brethren in England. Let the latter look well to their laurels.

We in England are, in truth, rather too apt to take too much credit to ourselves in respect to our efforts in the Peace cause, forgetful that our Anglo-Saxon brethren on the other side of the Atlantic can claim a full share in what has been already achieved. They have a wide effective Peace organization, and their societies are probably as useful, if not more so, than our own. They can boast of illustrious names, statesmen and orators, poets and preachers, amongst their supporters, and they give us the best earnest of their zeal and sincerity by sending annually influential deputations at an expense of from £30, to £60, or £70 each person (sometimes falling on the individual himself), to attend Peace Congresses wherever they are held. The paucity of American speakers will probably be remarked by many a reader, and has, we hear, been matter of complaint—not altogether unjustly. Our American brethren, from the simple fact that they have come more than 5,000 miles to take their part in this great enterprise, can present a *prima facie* claim to an indulgent hearing. That more of them did not address the Congress is perhaps a matter for regret, but is partly owing, we fancy, to an unfavourable prejudice created by the prolixity of some American orators who have attended former meetings, partly also to the superabundance of oratorical power, and the partiality of impatient delegates for particular speakers. Thus it happens that our Yankee friends have not been done justice to. Public meetings are never very reflective, nor disposed, in the excitement of the passing hour, to be very equitable. But we should be sorry to think that those American friends who have made so many sacrifices for, and done so much to promote the cause of universal peace, should imagine that their labours are not duly appreciated on this side of the Atlantic. An American started the Peace Congress, and the progress of events seems to indicate that his country will be the first to give its most important objects legislative embodiment.

The veteran John Burnet wound up the day's proceedings in a speech bristling with facts luminously illustrated and applied, and abounding in those strokes of humour which make him so welcome and pleasant an orator before any audience. His thorough-going common-sense view of the question went home to the hearts of all. The latter portion of his address was especially effective and practical. Recollect, he said, that Government is *our* servant—that the Foreign Secretary is *our* servant—we pay him. Let us, then, make him do his duty. Let us give him no peace. Let us inundate him with

petitions until he becomes so uneasy that he will be glad, instead of blandly assuring us of his sympathy in our views, to do something.

Two resolutions only were adopted at this sitting—the first enforcing the importance of diffusing pacific principles, the second asserting the wisdom of settling international disputes by arbitration. It is to be hoped that the former will be well weighed by all men (and women too) who have at heart the welfare of their kind; for, as was again and again reiterated at the Congress, it is by a change of public opinion, and by that alone, that the great object aimed at by these gatherings can be achieved. Nor is it necessary that a man should subscribe to all the principles of the Peace Society to induce him to act out the spirit of that resolution. Every one is willing to acknowledge the desirableness of abolishing war, and thereby elevating humanity to its proper position, and the Peace Congress may therefore claim the aid of all. Its object is not so much to give form and substance to one particular dogma, as to create that public opinion which will render war impossible and contemptible. Who cannot unite in this? It is a grievous mistake to suppose that the originators of the Congress refuse the aid of all persons who cannot see with them to the full length of the Peace Society, and that, by joining its ranks, all views which do not exactly square with the principle of non-resistance must be unconditionally abandoned.

We cannot close our hurried notice of the first day's proceedings, without referring to the hearty and sustained cheers which greeted the name of Mr. Horsman (the staunch foe of episcopal greediness), when the list of adhering M.P.'s was read to the meeting—an unmistakeable evidence of the ecclesiastical bearings of the bulk of those present.

A wet day and a close atmosphere did not damp the ardour of the friends of Peace, who appeared in undiminished numbers at Exeter Hall on Wednesday morning. As on the previous day, the large room was quite full. The formal proceedings were preceded by the reading of one or two notable letters from distinguished individuals friendly to the object of the Congress. One of them was from M. de Tracy, formerly Minister of Marine in France, and another from General Subervie, of the same country, giving a very complete and hearty assent to the objects of the organization.

Mr. Cobden was the hero of the day, and contributed one of his solid and impressive speeches, the sound common-sense views of which created a strong impression amongst his hearers. Still the hon. member was not in his best trim. He looked fatigued with the heavy Parliamentary duty to which he has lately been subject, and, until he had warmed with his subject, betrayed a hesitancy of manner not usual with him. As is always the case, his address bristled with happily-put points in illustration of the resolution he had taken in hand—the folly, &c. of standing armaments. In a spirit of faithfulness, he rebuked the vulgar and excessive feeling of national superiority with which Englishmen are constantly flattering themselves, and showed how little reason there was for our egotism. After all our talk of peace and retrenchment, we, at the present moment, maintained, by our extensive fortifications, an aggressive attitude all over the globe. We had now six millions worth of stores in our arsenals. With unanswerable arguments, he showed the enormous expense of standing armaments, and the immorality of the barrack system. But it is superfluous for us to pretend to describe a speech which everybody will prefer reading for himself, and forming his own conclusions upon it. Suffice it to say, that when the hon. member sat down, the audience rose and cheered with an earnestness and energy that proved how deep was the impression produced by Mr. Cobden's appeal to their reason.

Two other M.P.'s succeeded—Mr. Ewart, member for Dumfries, and Mr. McGregor, the member for Glasgow. The former spoke fluently, but with a want of closeness in his arguments, which rather unfavourably contrasted with his predecessor. His allusions to Mr. Burritt, and his Ocean Penny Postage scheme, as well as to Mr. Richard, the judicious secretary of the Congress, elicited much applause. Mr. Ewart—who is, perhaps, best known for his zealous advocacy of the abolition of death punishments—has been, for many years, one of the most active and indefatigable members of the Radical party in the House of Commons on all questions of progressive reform. Mr. McGregor brought his statistical genius to bear in elucidating the evils of stand-

ing armies, and said a great many true things in a blunt, out-spoken manner, which rather pleased his hearers. It is no small matter to have the aid of so eminent and careful a writer, in advocating a question which presents so many bearings suited to his peculiar talents. The dark picture he drew of the financial position of Austria and Prussia, his declaration that he had never once seen a soldier in the city of Glasgow, and his advice to carry the Peace question into the polling-booth, and thus get fair attention in a House which now turned a deaf ear to them, were the most effective points in his address, which was received with much and hearty applause.

A Spanish gentleman, Professor of Political Economy in Madrid, having read an oration in support of the resolution, a short pause in the proceedings took place, when suddenly M. Girardin appeared on the platform, was seized upon by Mr. Cobden, and saluted by a round of applause from the meeting, who would not be satisfied until he had come forward and said a few words—happily describing himself, although not a soldier, as a "deserter," having left his duties in the French National Assembly to pay his respects to the Peace Congress in London. Scarcely had the cheers which greeted the editor of *La Presse* subsided, when they were renewed on the appearance of the broad, sunburnt, and animated countenance of Henry Vincent at the tribune. In a short but impassioned address he stirred up the feelings of the audience, and left some sound and pregnant sentiments to take root in their bosoms after the subsidence of the excitement. Most effective was his allusion to the Italian sculpture under the Austrian name in the Great Exhibition. To him succeeded Dr. Beaumont—a name of high standing among Wesleyan Methodists, especially the Reforming section, but an orator whose declamatory style following so speedily upon more argumentative speakers was not calculated to produce a very lasting impression. However, his peculiar intonation, his novel delivery, and the heartiness of his manner, amused where they did not instruct, and kept the audience in a continuous state of merriment and excitement, which was not diminished when, at the close, he proposed there and then, in anticipation of their not distant triumph, to designate the Peace Congress, "Victoria Allelueticus."

When the sobriety of the meeting was somewhat restored after the (evidently to the bulk of them) novel display of elocution they had witnessed, M. Garnier, the hard-working and intelligent French secretary, to whom, as Mr. Richard stated on introducing him, the cause of peace was under lasting obligations, spoke in French. His speech was translated by Mr. Cobden. Its views were sound and sensible, especially in reference to propagating truth by force, and of the uselessness of helping other nations to gain their freedom by violent means.

Once again Mr. Burnet appeared upon the scene to move a resolution condemnatory of the extermination of aboriginal tribes; and, in the course of his speech, drew an affecting picture of the inroads of so-called civilized nations upon their more barbarous neighbours; with passing references to the Kafir wars and to Indian atrocities. Better, he said, have no colonies, if they can only be obtained by such means. The subject seemed deeply to interest the audience, and it must be confessed that this country has shown a very lax and culpable morality in winking at colonial misrule in all parts of the world. The Rev. F. Crowe, a returned missionary from Guatemala, and who has been imprisoned for refusing to serve as a soldier, in seconding the motion, gave a brief and clear narrative of his own experience in Central America, in illustration of the injustice of colonial law, and threw some light upon the morals of the "black regiments," which are recruited by rescued slaves pressed into our military service.

That veteran friend of all philanthropic movements—Joseph Sturge—whose appearance the audience acknowledged in a becoming manner, then introduced the Rev. H. Garnett, a fugitive coloured minister, who was received with a round of hearty applause. Brevity, modesty, and good sense, characterised his speech, which produced a most favourable impression. We heard that a slave-supporting minister from Virginia was among the delegates present. If so Mr. Garnett's reception must have been gall and wormwood to his soul.

An appropriate suggestion from M. Girardin for a verbal alteration of the resolution afforded him an opportunity of making a few pungent remarks in that peculiarly expressive style, which is characteristic of the man, and brought the proceedings to a close—the members of the Congress evidently rejoiced to escape from a close atmosphere, in which they had been seated with most exemplary patience for five hours, with no other change than a minute or two of pause for the sake of standing up, and by way of variety a round of cheers for the cause of Peace.

Thursday might be described as ditto to Wednesday, even down to the weather—the lowering clouds pouring forth their contents with most provoking pertinacity all day long. But President, delegates, and visitors (of both sexes), were at their post as though the sun were shining brightly on the scene, and Exeter Hall were, in point of attraction, a veritable Crystal Palace. Compression was the order of the day. Mr. Richard confessed that he had a list of orators as long as his arm, and was quite embarrassed how to choose amongst them. He good humouredly complained of the "impatience" of orators—elect, but was subsequently induced to explain that the "impatience" was that of too zealous friends, not of

speakers themselves—who were rather modest than otherwise. However, the result was a greater variety and interest to the meeting.

The proceedings opened with an agreeable episode. Mr. Vincent appeared at the principal entrance to the Hall at the head of fifteen French working-men, representing as many different trades in Paris, and anxious to express the sympathy of their brethren at home with the objects of the Congress. Their appearance excited much enthusiasm, and, headed by Mr. Vincent, they proceeded to the platform, where they took their seats, and remained till the close of the sitting. Mr. Vincent then introduced them to the meeting, and one of their number read an appropriate and feeling address, which was translated by Mr. J. S. Buckingham. It was announced that these worthy men have been sent over to the Congress and Exhibition by the combined liberality of MM. Girardin, Lamartine, Victor Hugo, and others.

Dr. Kreutznach, one of the Secretaries of the Frankfort Congress, and described by Mr. Richard as one of the most useful friends of the cause in Germany, addressed the meeting in excellent English;—after which Mr. Charles Gilpin, in a brief but energetic speech, moved the resolution respecting war loans, taking the opportunity of referring to the case of Kossuth—whose name elicited loud applause—and to the attempts made to take the life of that illustrious captive. He commenced with an illustration which, though oft-repeated, seemed ever welcome to the audience; and evoked a hearty response in the affirmative, to the inquiry which he adroitly slipped in, "Shall the Crystal Palace be retained?" Mr. E. Miall, in a speech which we may forbear to criticise, seconded the motion; and Mr. Samuel Gurney, the eminent capitalist, in an address which occasioned some disappointment, from the very cursory reference to that portion of the subject on which it was thought he was best qualified to deliver "a finding," supported it. Mr. Cobden, who was, we were sorry to observe, labouring under indisposition, and who had some difficulty in raising his voice to the required compass, then stepped forward, and, with a caveat against the introduction of politics, intimated that the most reckless and bankrupt power of Europe, albeit maintaining the largest standing army, was, if rumour proved correct, about coming again into our market for a loan. He, for one, would be ready to warn all men against lending their money to such a broken-down government. Before sitting down, Mr. Cobden, amidst laughter and cheers, by an unconscious *lapsus linguae*, uttered the word "Austria." His remarks on this subject were translated into French by M. Cocquerel, and produced a strong impression.

After a short address from Mr. J. S. Buckingham, and M. Jules Avigdor, banker, of Nice—the latter spoken in French—M. de Cormenin, the celebrated satirist—to whose able and unwearied exertions, in conjunction with M. Girardin, the untiring editor of *La Presse*, and M. Garnier, the progress of peace principles in France may be greatly attributed—delivered a short and epigrammatic speech, in proposing an impromptu resolution respecting the importance of carrying the principles of peace to the polling-booth. It is certainly a novel thing for English electors to receive such advice from a foreigner. We hope they will follow the counsel of so distinguished a veteran in the political and literary world. One other point in his address was, that the glory of the soldier was his uniform—dressed in black, and with no weapon but his fists, he would never fight. We were glad to notice that M. de Cormenin was received with much hearty warmth. M. Cocquerel most felicitously rendered the leading points of the address into English. Dr. Massie, after some allusions to the "scarlet fever" which sometimes affected the fair sex, and the responsible position of mothers in reference to this question—a view which found an adequate response throughout the Congress—made a financial announcement which created much interest.

Then followed Elihu Burritt, who was greeted with great enthusiasm—the major part of the audience rising from their seats to testify their respect for this fervent apostle of the Peace cause. In a lengthened address, Mr. Burritt proceeded to develop the resolution respecting an international code—showing the unsatisfactory state of international law, and the absolute need for the safety of civilized society of a new and enlightened code. Branching off from this subject, he proceeded to describe, in highly-wrought language, the coronation of Labour at the inauguration of the Exhibition, but in almost too elaborate and fanciful a strain for the taste of an English audience.

A short pause which followed, was seized upon by a zealous delegate as a suitable opportunity for attempting to get up three cheers for the Exhibition. Standing on a seat, he waved his hat, and shouted "Hip, hip," with all the strength of his lungs; but whether from a feeling of weariness, or from having heard enough about the Exhibition, or from not catching the object of the mover, the meeting did not respond to his invitation, so he sat down in a state of despair and discomfiture, which some cruel neighbours made a subject for merriment.

After two addresses in the French language, of some length, M. Francisque Bouvet, a member of the French Legislative Assembly, was introduced by Mr. Richard. This gentleman, it will be recollected, was tempted two years ago, under circumstances of great provocation, to fight a duel, which occasioned great scandal to the Peace cause in Paris, with which his name was identified. He now came forward to express his sincere sorrow for the part he had taken, and recorded a vow never to be a party

to a duel again—an announcement received with much applause.

Time now began to wane. Three o'clock had arrived, and yet there was a shoal of speakers waiting to be admitted to the tribune. But they were advised to bottle up their eloquence, and uncoil it on their return home for the benefit of their constituents. One more speaker was allowed to come forward; and he, by reason of his being an Austrian, and having a very short speech—a fact of which Mr. Richard had assured himself beforehand. Dr. Scherzer, of Vienna, a gentleman of most prepossessing appearance and pleasing delivery, read, in English, the speech we have given elsewhere, and excited hearty sympathy by the sentiments he expressed, as well as in the manner of uttering them. Mr. Burritt's resolution was then put, and the succeeding and last one, in reference to the Exhibition, was carried by acclamation, without the usual formality of being proposed and seconded.

Then came the President's farewell address, solemn and impressive; and a resolution to hold a Peace Congress somewhere next year, proposed by Mr. Sturge, and seconded by Mr. Edward Smith, of Sheffield—earnest-hearted men, whom most persons present would have been rejoiced to have listened to at greater length. In the hurry of winding up, votes of thanks to the laborious secretaries were almost overlooked, but the error was soon rectified; and, probably, there was no delegate then present but must have felt he owed a debt of gratitude to Mr. Richard and his fellow-secretaries and committee-men for their zealous and unwearied exertions. The judicious and quiet arrangements of the whole proceedings elicited frequent expressions of admiration, and left nothing to be desired; and we are sure we shall be interpreting the feelings of all present who may read these remarks, in cordially thanking the committee and secretaries for their devotion to the success of the Conference, at the cost of their own comfort and convenience. For the sake of the future, we will throw out the hint, that less demands made upon these overtasked but willing labourers in the good cause would greatly lighten their toil. We should like to have published entire the list of the Peace Congress Committee, or of that portion of them which have had all the hard work in getting up this magnificent demonstration, but other demands upon our space will not permit. To them emphatically and pre-eminently were due the thanks of the Congress, and of the public at large, for the successful result of their exertions—especially to the indefatigable secretaries, Messrs. Richard and Stokes. To make a good speech demands but a small sacrifice of time and labour to those who are used to address public meetings, but the arrangements for such gatherings as those just held in Exeter Hall demand business talents, unremitting exertions, and great self-denial, on the part of those who are responsible for them, and all this self-devotion—sometimes leading to broken health and shattered nerves—oftentimes scarcely secures a vote of thanks. For our part, we thank the committee and secretaries first—the speakers second. But we must hasten to close our brief sketch.

Still the Congress lingers, as though unwilling to break up. Mr. Vincent has a proposition—then a gentleman behind—next the Hon. Horace Greely, with his intellectual countenance, "who has done more than any man in America to reduce standing armaments," appears for a moment on the scene to propose a vote of thanks. Then appears and disappears Mr. Kershaw. Mr. Richard arrests attention for a few minutes; and, lastly, Mr. Cobden is, by a gentle compulsion, obliged to say a few more "last words." Then three cheers, and one cheer more, and at last a final dispersion of the successful Peace Congress of 1851. Yet not final, for in the evening, at eight o'clock, there was a reunion at Willis's-rooms, King-street, in honour of the foreign members of the Congress—a gathering worthy of British hospitality. We have briefly described it below.

FIRST DAY'S SITTING.

The Congress commenced its proceedings soon after eleven o'clock, the appointed time for opening.

Sir David Brewster having been voted into the chair, the Rev. H. Richard, one of the English Secretaries, proceeded to read the names of the Vice-Presidents and other officers. Amongst them were Richard Cobden, Esq., M.P., and Charles Hindley, Esq., M.P., vice-presidents for England; MM. Cormenin and Horace Say, vice-presidents for France; Professor Rau, of Heidelberg, for Germany; M. Viachers, for Belgium; and Judge John N. Miles and the Hon. W. Jackson, for America. The secretaries chosen were:—For England, the Rev. H. Richard and Rev. W. Stokes; for France, MM. Joseph Garnier and M. Cocquerel, jun.; for Germany, Dr. Maquardsen and Dr. Kreutznach; for America, Mr. Elihu Burritt and Dr. Beckwith; and for Italy, M. Jules Avigdor, of Nice. The names of the foreign delegates having been read to the meeting, Mr. Richard stated, that as the English delegates comprised upwards of one thousand names, he would not take up their valuable time by going through so long a muster roll, but would simply mention a few of the more eminent. He then read the list which we have given elsewhere.

After a short pause for silent prayer, Sir DAVID BREWSTER (the President), amidst loud and general cheers, rose to read his inaugural address. He said:—

I should have shrunk from occupying the chair in which your kindness has placed me, were I required to address to you any formal and lengthened argument in favour of the grand object which the Congress of Peace has been organised to accomplish. I shall consider this

part of my duty discharged by a brief reference to the nature and the justice of the cause which we are this day met to plead. The principle for which we claim your sympathy, and ask your support, is, that war undertaken to settle differences between nations is the relic of a barbarous age, equally condemned by religion, by reason, and by justice. The question, "What is war?" has been more frequently asked than answered; and I hope that there may be in this assembly some eloquent individual who has seen it in its realities, and who is willing to tell us what he has seen. Most of you, like myself, know it only in poetry and romance. We have wept over the epics and the ballads which celebrate the tragedies of war. We have followed the warrior in his career of glory without tracing the line of blood along which he has marched. We have worshipped the demigod in the Temple of Fame in ignorance of the cruelties and crimes by which he climbed its steep. It is only from the soldier himself, and in the language of the eye that has seen its agonies, and of the ear that has heard its shrieks, that we can obtain a correct idea of the miseries of war. Though far from our happy shores, many of us may have seen it in its ravages and in its results, in the green mound which marks the recent battle-field, in the shattered forest, in the razed and desolate village, and, perchance, in the widows and the orphans which it made! And yet this is but the memory of war—the faint shadow of its dread realities—the reflection but of its blood, and the echoes but of its thunders [hear, hear]. I shudder when imagination carries me to the sanguinary field, to the death-struggles between men who are husbands and fathers, to the horrors of the siege and the sack, to the deeds of rapine and violence and murder, in which neither age nor sex is spared. In acts like these the soldier is converted into a fiend, and his humanity even disappears under the ferocious mask of the demon or the brute. To men who reason, and who feel while they reason, nothing in the history of their species appears more inexplicable than that war, the child of barbarism, should exist in an age enlightened and civilized, when the arts of peace have attained the highest perfection, and when science has brought into personal communion nations the most distant, and races the most unfriendly [cheers]. But it is more inexplicable still that war should exist where Christianity has for nearly 2,000 years been shedding its gentle light, and that it should be defended by arguments drawn from the Scriptures themselves [hear, hear]. When the pillar of fire conducted the Israelites to their promised home, their Divine Leader no more justified war than he justified murder by giving skill to the artist who forges the stiletto, or nerve to the arm that wields it. If the sure word of prophecy has told us that the time must come when men shall learn the art of war no more, it is doubtless our duty, and it shall be our work, to hasten its fulfilment, and upon the anvil of Christian truth, and with the brawny arm of indignant reason, to beat the sword into the ploughshare, and the spear into the pruning hook [loud applause]. I am ashamed in a Christian community to defend on Christian principles the cause of universal peace. He who proclaimed peace on earth and goodwill to man, who commands us to love our enemies, and to do good to them who despitefully use us and persecute us; he who counsels us to hold up the left cheek when the right is smitten, will never acknowledge us as disciples, or admit into his immortal family the sovereign or the minister who shall send the fiery cross over tranquil Europe, and summon the bloodhounds of war to settle the disputes and gratify the animosities of nations [cheers]. I see in the list of our members the venerable name of the Archbishop of Paris, who, but for ill health, would have presided over the Congress in 1849. I trust there are many bishops of our National Church, who, like their Catholic brother, are intolerant of war, and who are ready to give their sanction and support to the cause of peace. I have seen a bishop, and some of you may have personally known him, who characterises war by a sentiment which might well be inscribed upon our banner—a sentiment powerful from its arithmetical logic, and more powerful still from its brevity and truth. "One murder makes a villain, millions a hero" [hear, hear]. Had Bishop Porteus been alive, he, doubtless, would have presided in his own diocese over a congress of peace. When revelation is discredited, or its decision questioned, reason is summoned as the arbiter, and reason has been appealed to by the friends of war. To its deliberate verdict we shall cheerfully yield. If reason is not for us, revelation is against us [hear, hear]. War is, by its friends, deemed a condition of man in his state of trial. It has, they allege, been part of the Divine government for six thousand years, and it will, therefore, continue till that government has ceased. It is, consequently, as they argue, wholly Utopian to attempt to subvert what is a law of Providence, and what seems part and parcel of our fallen nature. If the combativeness of man, as evinced in his history, is thus a necessary condition of his humanity, and is for ever to have its issue in war, his superstition, his credulity, his ignorance, his lust for power, must also be perpetuated in the institutions to which they have given birth. Where, then, are the orgies, the saturnalia of ancient times, the gods who were invoked, and the temples where they were worshipped? Like war, they were the condition of an infant race, and have disappeared in the blaze of advancing civilization [hear, hear]. The game of credulity, the condition of early science, and the sphere of the magician, the conjuror, and the alchemist, has, like that of superstition, been played, and the truths which once administered to imposture have become the sources of wealth and the means of happiness. The game of ignorance, also, has been played, and the schoolmaster has buckled on his armour to replace it with knowledge and virtue [cheers]. The game of slavery, too, has nearly been played—that monstrous condition of humanity which statesmen still living hold to be inseparable from social life, and which men, still called Christians, defend from Scripture. The game of duelling—the game of personal war, in which false honour and morbid feeling make their appeal to arms, and which was not only defended but practised by Christians—has likewise been played; and even the soldier, who was supposed to have a prescriptive title to its use, has willingly surrendered his right of homicide and manslaughter [hear, hear]. The game of revolution and of despotism which is now playing before our eyes will, in its turn, be played, and with it the game of war will terminate. Is it Utopian, then, to attempt to put an end to war? If personal and local feuds have been made amenable to law—if the border wars of once hostile kingdoms have been abolished by their union—if nations have successfully

combined to maintain the balance of European power by their armies—if, in our own day, an alliance called holy has been organized to put down revolution in individual states, and maintain the principle of order—why may not the same great powers again combine to enforce peace as well as order, and to chastise the first audacious nation that ventures to disturb the tranquillity of Europe? [cheers.] The principle of this Congress, to settle national disputes by arbitration, has, to a certain extent, been adopted by existing powers, both monarchical and republican; and it is surely neither chimerical nor officious to make such a system universal among the very nations that have themselves partially adopted it. If these views have reason and justice on their side, their final triumph cannot be distant. The cause of peace has made, and is making, rapid progress. The most distinguished men of all nations are lending it their aid. The illustrious Humboldt, the chief of the republic of letters, whom I am proud to call my friend, has addressed to the Congress of Frankfurt a letter of sympathy and adhesion. He tells us that our institution is a step in the life of nations, and that, under the protection of a superior power, it will at length find its consummation. He recalls to us the noble expression of a statesman long departed, "that the idea of humanity is becoming more and more prominent, and is everywhere proclaiming its animating power." Other glorious names sanction our cause. Several French statesmen, and many of the most distinguished members of the Institute, have joined our alliance. The Catholic and the Protestant clergy of Paris are animated in the sacred cause, and the most illustrious of its poets have brought to us the willing tribute of their genius. Since I entered this assembly I have received from France an olive branch, the symbol of peace, with a request that I should wear it on this occasion [cheers]. It has lost, unfortunately, its perishable verdure—an indication, I trust, of its perennial existence. The philosophers and divines of Germany, too, have given us their sympathy and support; and in America, every man that thinks is a friend of universal peace. In pleading for a cause in which every rank of citizens has a greater or a less interest, I would fain bespeak the support of a class who have the deepest stake in the prosperity of the country, and in the permanence of its institutions. The holders of the nation's wealth, whether it is invested in trade or in land, have a peculiar interest in the question of peace [hear, hear]. Upon them war makes its first and its heaviest demand; and upon them, too, war, in its reverses, makes its first appropriating inroad. In our insular stronghold, we have ever felt secure from foreign aggression; but when alarmists are raising the cry of insecurity on our shores, they proclaim the insecurity of property by their very arrangements to defend it. In the reign of peace, wealth will flow into new channels, and science will guide the plough in its fructifying path; and, having nothing to fear from foreign invasion, or internal discontent, we shall sit under our vine and our fig-tree, to use the gifts and enjoy the life which Providence has given—to discharge the duties which these blessings impose, and prepare for that higher life to which duty discharged is the safest passport [cheers]. But it is not merely to property that our principles will bring security and amelioration. With war will cease its expenditure. National prosperity will follow national security. The arts of peace will flourish as the arts of war decay. The talent and skill which have been squandered on the works and on the instruments of destruction will be directed into nobler channels. Science and the arts, in thus acquiring new intellectual strength, will make new conquests over matter, and give new powers to mind. The minister, who now refuses to science its inalienable rights, and grudges even the crumbs which fall from the niggardly board, will then open the nation's purse to advance the nation's glory; and the decorations which now justly shine on the breast of the warrior, and those which hide themselves for shame under the drapery of the party adherent, will fall to the lot of the sage who enlightens, and that of the patriot who serves, his country. Science will no longer bend a suppliant at the foot of power, and the intriguer will no longer dare to approach it. Education, too, will then dispense its blessings through a wider range, and Religion, within its own hallowed sphere, will pursue its labours of love and truth, in imitation of its blessed Master [cheers]. If we have not yet reached this epoch of peace and happiness, we are doubtless rapidly nearing it; and among the surest harbingers of its approach is the Exhibition of the World's Industry, and the reunion of the world's genius, which now adorn and honour our metropolis. As one of its daily visitors since it was opened by our beloved Queen, I may be permitted to call your especial attention to it as the first Temple of Peace that modern hands have reared [cheers]. You have, doubtless, all seen its magnificent exterior and its internal splendour—its lofty transept raising its glittering roof to the skies—its lengthy nave vanishing in distance and misty perspective—its countless avenues and aisles—its iron corridors—its crystal labyrinths. On the outline of its walls, and from its balconies within, wave the banners of nations—those bloody symbols of war under which our fathers, and even our brothers, have fought and bled. They are now the symbols of peace. Woven and reared by the hands of industry, they hang in unruffled unity, untorn by violence and unstained with blood, the emblems, indeed, of strife, but of that noble strife in which nations shall contend for victory in the fields of science, in the schemes of philanthropy, and in the acts of life [cheers]. The trophies of such conquests, and the triumphs of such acts are displayed within. Who can describe them without "thoughts that breathe, and words that burn?" There are the materials gathered from the surface, or torn from the bowels of our planet, the products of primeval creation, or annual growth, the gift of God to man—the elements of civilization from which his genius is to elaborate these combinations of science and of art, which administer to the comforts of life and the grandeur of nations. There are the instruments to grasp with the eye the infinitely great, to measure space and time—to charm, to cure, and to kill. There are mechanisms which have made man a tyrant over matter, cutting and twisting and tearing and moulding its hardest as well as its tenderest elements, which break and pulverize the dust of the earth; which lift up its heaviest and most solid strata; which span its rivers and its valleys; which light up our rugged shores; which transport the riches of our commerce across the deep; and which hurry us as on wings of iron, beating the eagle in its flight, and mimicking the lightning in its speed. Yonder are the fabrics which clothe the

peasant and the prince, which deck the cottage and glitter in the palace—the jewels which hang on the neck of beauty, and which play a part in the pomp of kings—the cup of clay which the husbandman dips into the crystal well, and the goblet of silver and of gold from which the more favoured of our race quaff the nectar of the gods [cheers]. And, finally, as if to chide the vanity of the riches that perish, and chasten the extravagance that lives but for the present, we see commingled with the baubles of wealth and luxury, with what the moth and the rust corrupt, those divine models which record in marble or in bronze the deeds of heroism that time has spared, the glorious names which the past has transmitted to the future, the forms divine of the sage that has instructed, and the patriot that has saved his country. Amid these proud efforts of living genius, these brilliant fabrics, these wondrous mechanisms, we meet the sage, the artist of every clime and of every faith, studying the productions of each other's country, admiring each other's genius, and learning the lessons of love and charity which a community of race and of destiny cannot fail to teach. The grand truth, indeed, which this lesson involves, is recorded in bronze on the prize medal by which the genius of the exhibitors is to be rewarded. Round the head of Prince Albert, to whose talent and moral courage we owe the Exposition of 1851, and addressed to us in his name, is the noble sentiment—"Dissociata in locis concordia Pace ligavi. What space has separated I have united in harmonious peace" [hear, hear]. This is to be our motto, and to realize it is to be our work. It will, indeed, be the noblest result of the Prince's labours, if they shall effect among nations what they have already done among individuals, the removal of jealousies that are temporary, and the establishment of friendships that are enduring. The annual meetings of the scientific men of all nations have already taught us that personal communication and the interchange of social kindness revive our better feelings, and soften the asperities of rival and conflicting interests. Nations are composed of individuals, and that kindness and humility which adorn the single heart, cannot be real if they disappear in the united sentiment of nations. We cannot readily believe that nations which have embraced each other in social intercourse, and in the interchanges of professional knowledge, will recognise any other object of rivalry and ambition than a superiority in the arts of peace. It is not likely that men that have admired each other's genius, and have united in giving a just judgment on mere inventions, will ever again concur in referring questions of national honour to the arbitrament of the sword. If in the material works the most repulsive elements may be permanently compressed within their sphere of mutual attraction; if, in the world of instinct, nature's most ferocious may be softened and even tamed when driven into a common retreat by their deadliest foe—may we not expect in the world of reason and of faith, that men severed by national and personal enmities—who have been toiling under the same impulse and acting for the same end—who are standing in the porch of the same Hall of Judgment, and panting for the same eternal home—may we not expect that such men will never again consent to brandish the deadly cutlass or throw the hostile spear? May we not regard it as certain that they will concur with us in exerting themselves to the utmost in effecting the entire abolition of war? (Sir D. Brewster resumed his seat amidst loud applause.)

The SECRETARY then read the rules by which the discussions of the meeting were to be governed, amongst which it was ordered, that none but members of the Congress should address the assembly, and that no speaker should occupy the attention of the meeting for more than twenty minutes at a time. And it was particularly urged that speakers should avoid, as much as possible, in their addresses, any direct allusion to the political events of the day.

Two addresses to the Congress—one from the mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of the borough of Sheffield, and the other from Dunfermline, signed by the provost on behalf of the corporate body, declaring their entire approbation of the fundamental principles of the Congress, were then read; as were also letters from Count Pierre Dionysie Dumellie, member of the Chamber of Deputies of Turin, and from Mr. Thomas Carlyle, wishing all good speed to the exertions of the Congress, and expressing regret at being unable to attend in person. The following is a copy of Mr. Carlyle's letter:—

Chelsea, 18th July, 1851.

Sir,—I fear I shall not be able to attend any of your meetings; but certainly I can at once avow, if, indeed, such avowal on the part of any sound-minded man be not a superfluous one, that I altogether approve your object, heartily wish it entire success, and even hold myself bound to do, by all opportunities that are open to me, whatever I can towards forwarding the same. How otherwise? "If it be possible, as much as in you lies, study to live at peace with all men;" this, sure enough, is the perpetual law for every man, both in his individual and his social capacity; nor in any capacity or character whatsoever is he permitted to neglect this law, but must follow it, and do what he can to see it followed. Clearly, beyond question, whatsoever be our theories about human nature, and its capabilities and outlooks, the less war and cutting of throats we have among us, it will be the better for us all! One rejoices much to see that immeasurable tendencies of this time are already pointing towards the result you aim at; that, to all appearance, as men no longer wear swords in the streets, so neither, by and by, will nations; that, among nations, too, the sanguinary ultima ratio will, at it has done among individuals, become rarer and rarer; and the tragedy of fighting, if it can never altogether disappear, will reduce itself more and more strictly to a minimum in our affairs. Towards this result, as I said, all men are at all times bound to co-operate; and, indeed, consciously or unconsciously, every well-behaved person in this world may be said to be daily and hourly co-operating towards it—especially in these times of banking, railwaying, printing, and penny-posting; when every man's traffickings and labourings, and whatever industry he honestly and not dishonestly follows, do all very directly tend, whether he knows it or not, towards this good object among others.

I will say farther, what appears very evident to me, that if any body of citizens, from one, or especially from various countries, see good to meet together, and articulate, reiterate these or the like considerations, and strive to make them known and familiar,—the world in general, so soon as it can sum up the account, may rather hold itself indebted to them for so doing. They are in the happy case of giving some little furtherance to their cause by such meeting, and (what is somewhat peculiar) of not retarding it thereby on any side at all. If they be accused of doing little good, they can answer confidently that the little good they do is quite unalloyed, that they do no evil whatever. The evil of their enterprise, if evil there be, is to themselves only; the good of it goes wholly to the

world's account without any admixture of evil:—for which unalloyed benefit, however small it be, the world surely ought, as I now do, to thank them rather than otherwise.

One big battle saved to Europe, will cover the expense of many meetings. How many meetings would one expedition to Russia cover the expense of! Truly I wish you all the speed possible; well convinced you will not too much extinguish the wrath that dwells as a natural element in all Adam's posterity;—and I beg to subscribe myself,

Sir, yours very sincerely,

T. CARLYLE.

Henry Richard, Esq., Secretary, &c. &c.

The Rev. J. A. JAMES, of Birmingham, moved the first resolution:—

That it is the special and solemn duty of all ministers of religion, instructors of youth, and conductors of the public press, to employ their great influence in the diffusion of pacific principles and sentiments, and in eradicating from the minds of men those hereditary animosities, and political and commercial jealousies, which have been so often the cause of disastrous wars.

The speaker said, he rejoiced that Sir D. Brewster had associated a name dear to science with a cause dear to religion, and that he brought to its support not merely talents which they all admired, but virtues also, which they much wished to imitate. It might be thought by some that he (Sir D. Brewster) would be more in his place presiding over the commissioners of that noble Exhibition, that great school of industry which he had so well described, but as he (Mr. James) thought, Sir D. Brewster was called by Providence to preside over this, a still greater Exhibition [cheers]. As regarded the resolution which he had to advocate, he rejoiced that amongst the means by which its principles were to be spread, the pulpit sustained the first place. It was not for him to magnify the importance of the pulpit, but all would admit the power of elocution and eloquence over the soul—all would admit that men did more generally feel, if not think, under the power of public speaking in public assembly than under the influence of private reading in their own closets. The book spoke to only one mind at a time, but the pulpit to hundreds or thousands. The author spoke to one heart, the minister to hundreds; and had the pulpit done its duty, he believed this Congress would not now have been needed [loud cheers]. Had the teachers of Christianity done their duty in publishing our Saviour's sublime doctrines in his own peace-making spirit, war would have existed only as a foul blot on the face of Christendom; and hence the vast importance of making the pulpit the channel of advancing their great object [cheers]. To see the warrior's coat thrown over the minister's gown, as had been the case, and Christianity dragged in the person of its advocates to bless the blood-stained banners of war, was to him one of the most affecting spectacles in the world [hear]. It was not Christianity which sanctioned it—she stood weeping by at the sight. Where could be found any sanction in the Bible for these proceedings? Not in the Old Testament—not in the Prophets—not in the natal song which ushered Christianity into the world—not in the teachings of its great Founder or of his Apostles. No! war was hostile to the spirit as well as to the doctrines and precepts of Christianity [hear, hear]; and the conduct of the ministers of religion in all ages had grievously alienated thousands from that gospel which they professed to promulgate [cheers]. He might be told that all their efforts would be vain—that when there were 4,000,000 of soldiers under arms in Europe there was but little prospect of governments laying aside hostilities and appealing, in their disputes, to arbitration—that at any moment an accident might kindle a blaze that should spread through them all. It might be so. But many a thunderstorm had issued in a beautiful morning. Let the thunders of war roll, the day was breaking—there were streaks upon the east—the dawn was arrived—and here in this Congress he saw it [hear, hear]. He appealed, then, to the Christian ministers around him; the pulpit, if properly employed, could destroy slavery in America, intemperance in England, and war all over the world. Would they, then, give their advocacy to this cause? Employ this influence to spread it through the world? He could almost ask the ministers of religion to rise up and pledge themselves to this great work. [A large number of ministers here rose, amid a burst of cheering from all parts of the very crowded assembly]. He thanked them, and felt sure that in his appeal to them he should not be mistaken. He relied on the pulpit; let them go on, and they would behold that day so beautifully described by the Chariman, when nations should bring their spears and swords to the anvil of revelation, and should learn war no more [loud applause].

The Rev. W. BROCK, of Bloomsbury Chapel, was called upon to second the resolution. He thought that if they were but gathering in the Crystal Palace itself, they would want nothing to the completeness and appropriateness of their assembly [hear, hear], and if there they had not the President whom they now had, he should not object to having the Prince himself to occupy the chair [cheers]. If there were in these days two things homogeneous, they were—the Crystal Palace and the Peace Congress—the great Exhibition, and their object in that hall. The Crystal Palace they might regard as a temple from which at evening, morn, and noon, went up the prayer, "Give peace in our time, O Lord, we beseech thee;" a prayer which would effectuate its own purpose, and help to bring about the state of things which it asked [cheers]. Mr. Brock having touched lightly on the subject of Mr. Carlyle's letter, remarking that the man who in his "Latter-day Pamphlets" spoke of Exeter Hall with a little railery at least, said now that they were doing, at any rate, a minimum of good, went on to demonstrate that their object being in principle right, and important if attainable, might be attained. He asked a condemnation of artifices of enlistment, of

the profligacy of the barrack-system, of the agonies of the battle-field, arguing that these things being wrong might be removed by the force of public opinion. Some years ago there seemed as little possibility of getting the corn-laws repealed as of getting war abolished. Yet the corn-laws were gone, never to return [hear, hear, and cheers]. Slavery had been abolished by public opinion [cheers]; and it was still in the power of the press, aided by the influence of the schoolmaster, and backed by the support of the pulpit, to do away with war. In them our hope consisted, and through them we must look for the time when, instead of being born with "natural enemies," we should all bear one another's burdens, and so fulfil the law of Christ [cheers]. In conclusion, he read a passage by Dr. Chalmers, to the effect that peace would not come by factious opposition, but that moral and religious means must produce it; and the feet which were now swift to shed blood would then be beautiful upon the mountains [cheers].

The Rev. Dr. ASPINALL, of Liverpool, a clergyman of the Established Church, supported the motion, characterising the cause of peace as the cause of heaven, and enlarging upon the scriptural obligation to forward it as such. He concluded by reading, with much appropriate emphasis and earnestness, a short poem on "The Gathering of the Peace Congress," which he had written and published in a local newspaper, and which was received with much applause by the audience.

The Rev. ATHANASIE COCQUEREL, jun., son of the celebrated Pastor Cocquerel, of the Protestant Church, Paris, came forward, amidst loud applause, to support the resolution. His introduction, by Mr. Richard, as "a natural enemy," occasioned cheers and laughter. Monsieur Cocquerel addressed the meeting in French, with fluency and eloquence. He said: It would be almost superfluous to repeat in another language, those arguments which had been so ably elucidated by the gentlemen who had spoken in English; and yet he had little to add. He felt it his duty, however, to offer a few remarks, with a view to meet certain objections which had been made to this movement in his own country. M. Cocquerel proceeded to describe, in most eloquent language, the object of the Congress, as one which ought to occupy the attention of all the nations of the earth. The advocates of the principle of war talked of the "glory" which attended it; but, in his opinion, that species of glory which sprung from the field of battle was cursed and anti-Christian. The grand Exhibition in Hyde Park, to which all nations were invited in the true spirit of peace, was the result of the people's industry—and this was a glory which was far superior to glories which arose from battles and conquests. In allusion to the sarcasm with which the cause had been attacked, the hon. gentleman remarked, that it only proved how successful their labours had been; and he would remind his friends, that if they searched the pages of history they would find, that in all great agitations for reform, the promoters of those agitations had been saluted with derision. For his own part, he cared not for this derision, and he would persevere in advocating this cause with all his heart, and all the energy of his faith [cheers].

DON MARIANO CUBI I SOLER, Professor of Mental Philosophy (a Spaniard), followed. He observed that, although he had not spoken English for ten years, he would endeavour to address the meeting in that language. Their cause was not the cause of a man, nor the cause of a sect, or nation, or party, or country, but the cause of humanity [cheers].

M. JULES DELBRUCK, directeur de la *Révue d'Éducation Nouvelle de Paris*, supported the resolution, in a speech noticed below.

Mr. COBDEN begged permission of the President to interpose for a few moments [great cheering, renewed again and again]. There might be many ladies present, mothers of families—of children who were still young—and upon whose tender minds there was still abundant time to make an impression that would be permanent. And those ladies might not perfectly understand what their respected, valued, and able friend had just been saying. Now, inasmuch as that gentleman, who was the conductor of a journal of education, had given a great deal of attention to the subject, he (Mr. Cobden) should be sorry that his excellent recommendations should be lost. His respected friend had spoken about the necessity that existed for care in the choice of toys that were placed in the hands of children. He had spoken against the custom of giving to children those kind of playthings which should tend to familiarize them with feelings and habits of war [hear]—of a custom which he (Mr. Cobden) knew to be very prevalent in France, and to be certainly not unknown in this country, of giving to children, for instance, figures of soldiers for playthings, and teaching them to set up the red coats against the blue coats. And those little things of tin or lead were made to march against one another with mimic swords and muskets; and thus the children were early taught to rejoice, if they were English children, when the red coats overthrew the blue coats; and if they were French, when the blue coats overthrew the red coats; and he, therefore, recommended mothers to be careful not to allow their children to be accustomed to these mimic scenes of war [cheers].

The resolution was then put by the Chairman, and carried unanimously.

M. VISSCHERS, of Brussels, was introduced by Mr. Richard, as one of the most earnest and indefatigable advocates which the Peace cause could boast of, and was cordially received by the meeting. After apologizing for attempting to address them in "very

lame English," he moved the second resolution, which was to the following effect:—

That as an appeal to the sword can settle no question, on any principle of equity and right, it is the duty of Governments to refer to the decision of competent and impartial arbitrators such differences arising between them as cannot be otherwise amicably adjusted.

He said:—

Gentlemen,—I second the resolution because I consider arbitration as the rational and practical means, as the only rational and complete means, of settling the differences which arise between nations. Every body acknowledges the evils of war, its inequity as a mode of determining justice, its deplorable consequences for the life, fortune, and security of citizens. It has produced those heavy burthens which make the present generation pay for the errors, follies, and crimes of their predecessors. But some think there is no remedy for the evils of the present state of things, and others recommend remedies which are either inefficacious or unacceptable [hear, hear]. Among that class of remedies I would mention a proposal which I have often heard suggested, namely, to invent engines of destruction of so formidable a character as to make war become impossible. The authors of this scheme remind me of the story of a Dutch innkeeper, mentioned by Kant, the celebrated philosopher of Königsberg, in his "Project of Perpetual Peace." This worthy innkeeper had taken for his sign, "Eternal Peace;" but, under those words, he had painted a *churchyard* [laughter]. Others have said, with Franklin, that, considering the uncertainty of the chances of war, it would be preferable, in order to avoid its calamities, to take the dice, and run the hazard of the throw [hear, hear]. Others have gone so far as to propose to renew the combat between the Horatii and the Curiatii, and to have recourse on both sides to champions. An emperor of the East, it is said, made such a proposal to a prince with whom he was at war: the chiefs of both parties were to come to a personal encounter. But the prince, like a true barbarian, replied, "A blacksmith who has good tools does not take red-hot irons out of the fire with his fingers!" [laughter.] An advantage which war offers, and which mere chance does not present (but the thought is shocking to humanity), is that, after both sides have let loose passions, hatreds, and fury, the victor secures his triumph, if not by the total destruction of his foes, at least by their partial destruction and by their moral and physical exhaustion [hear, hear]. War, indeed, is believed to offer this advantage; but it renders hatreds eternal, and provokes reprisals: peace alone brings with it relief for sufferings, balm for wounds, and oblivion of injuries. For the want of an amicable understanding, arbitration, therefore, remains as a logical means of settling disputes by securing right and justice [cheers]. Is this means practicable? May we hope to see it adopted by the public law, I shall not say of Europe, but of the whole world? If we refer to the primitive state of man, we observe everywhere misery and isolation, and neighbours in a state of permanent mistrust, and often hostility. Let us pass rapidly over historical periods. Let us not dwell on the private feuds of the middle ages, when castle against castle, town against town, village against village, every one was at war. For a long time the great vassals had kept this privilege to themselves: it at length disappeared before the extension of the central power. The heads of states alone have preserved this right. Nevertheless, private confederacies, sometimes comprising extensive states, have been formed—to say nothing of the leagues of antiquity and of the middle ages: look at the Germanic Confederation and the Swiss Union, which subsist to the present day. The United States of North America afford us another example. So well have these confederacies understood that war is a source of ruin for nations that they have formally forbidden it in the states forming their union, either between those states themselves, or with foreign states, without the consent of the Supreme Diet [hear, hear]. I hold in my hand a copy of the enactments which have limited the right of war in these different confederacies and substituted arbitration. Let the Americans, the Germans, and the Swiss here present, bear witness to what I say. Do not these enactments exist? for the United States, in the act of federation and perpetual peace of 1788; for the Germanic confederation, in the act of the 8th of June, 1815; for Switzerland, in the federal compact of 1815, confirmed in 1830? Vattel, who wrote more than a century ago, and whose authority is beyond suspicion, informs us that this custom of the Swiss of introducing in the treaties between the cantons, or with the neighbouring states, stipulations relative to arbitration, in case of differences which could not be brought to an amicable adjustment, had contributed to render their country flourishing, and to give it the security which it so long enjoyed [hear, hear]. Thus, not only the process of unity which has been carried out in large states, but even the feeling of common welfare in states belonging to the same family and united together, has succeeded in making the dominion of war less extensive. How many congresses have we seen assembled since 1815! The interests of nations are now treated in cabinets, and no longer on battle-fields: intelligence has superseded the sword. The public law of Europe is entirely established on a legal foundation, and sanctions the admission of new states into the great political family. It was thus that arbitration, by compelling the Belgians and the Dutch to lay down their arms in 1830, constituted the new kingdom of Belgium. The country to which I belong, gentlemen, does not form a part of any confederation; yet all the great powers, with one consent, have agreed in forbidding it the right of making war, and decided that, in case of differences arising with other nations, Belgium should have recourse to arbitration. Belgium has submitted to this decision, because she feels that she forms a part of the European federation; her position is not an exception, it is what ought to be the rule. We referred just now to the starting point of mankind: misery, isolation, and war. Without reviewing the intermediate stages which have brought humanity to the pitch of civilization which it has now reached, we may observe that wealth, the charm and security of relations, and peace are the results of that civilization, that is to say, of the exertions and intelligence of man [hear, hear]. Why should this action of the collective intelligence of mankind stop? If treaties have established the European equilibrium, the present organization of the states of Europe; if they have fixed the main points of international public law, and, when they could not prevent war, have, at all events, regulated and directed its exercise, why should not the same public law add new enactments to those already existing? [hear, hear.] The

will of a few leading powers would be sufficient to prevent any war occurring in Europe [cheers]. The European confederation is still, no doubt, imperfect and incomplete, and cannot be compared to the uniform and harmonious system of North America. The way to bring it to perfection—that is to say, to draw more closely the ties that exist between all the nations of Europe—is not, however, to rely exclusively on the exertions of diplomacy. We all know what value is to be set on the treaties of peace and eternal friendship exchanged between sovereigns. It is commerce, gentlemen, that will finish what commerce has for so many years begun [cheers]. Ten years of revolutionary energy, and outbreak of passions in France, have not succeeded in converting Europe; despotism and military glory have proved unable to conquer and subdue it. The slow and unceasing labour of peace, trade that it stimulates, the interchange of ideas and feelings of kindness that it favours, will have a more powerful effect. Let us rely, gentlemen, on the extension given to railroads, to steam navigation, and the electric telegraph—that marvellous and quite recent invention, which one would almost think Pope spoke of when he said that letters were invented.

"To speed the intercourse from soul to soul,
And waft a thought from Indus to the pole."

[Cheers.] Let us rely on the want one people is in of the other, on the diffusion of human knowledge, which already admits of a community between all nations in inventions of science and industry—in everything that can be useful to man. The science of old diplomatists, the will of autocrats, will not stop the world which is calling for freedom of commerce and the instruction of the masses [hear, hear]. What struck me, gentlemen, as really admirable in the idea of universal peace was, that it comprised all the improvements that can be imagined for mankind. After exhausting, as it were, the list of all the reforms, all the improvements—after extending human solicitude, not only to the woes that afflict us in our own country, but also to those which afflict the wretched in the most distant regions, it remained to give the idea its generalization, the human aspirations their definitive shape, their crystallization [hear, hear]. That is the sanctuary in which the Spirit of God must find delight, because it is the expression of his commandments, the summary of his precepts, the application of the doctrines of the gospel. Grandeur even than the Crystal Palace, erected to the wonders of the material world, will be that altar of sacrifice, on which men will all come to lay down their passions—to abjure their errors and their wars! [cheers.] The action of civilization tends to suppress war, but alone it is not sufficient. We must hasten the natural course of things. We will act thus in accordance with the views of Providence: we shall be, to use Bacon's expression, "its ministers, its interpreters" [hear, hear]. Let us not remain satisfied with lamenting over the evils which encompass us—over the deeds of injustice committed around us. But should any king, or any people, display acts of oppression and conquest, we will point our finger at the culprit, as did the prophet of old, and say, "Thou hast sinned!" [cheers.] Last year, gentlemen, they came to us, when we were at Frankfurt, to offer us to be arbitrators in the Schleswig-Holstein question. A few weeks ago the Prussian Government, by authority, suppressed the Peace Society established at Königsberg. Thus, days of triumph and days of reverse are in store for us. But we will remember the maxim, "No cross, no crown" [hear, hear]. We have for our judges, not only our contemporaries, but posterity. Let our united efforts be directed to the destruction of the barbarism that yet remains in the world! [cheers.]

Rev. Dr. BECKWITH, Secretary of the American Peace Society, seconded the resolution. They had listened to eloquent dissertations upon war, but the great question was, could they get rid of it? Now, he believed he saw a little daylight in this point, and could report favourably on the matter. The Americans were practical men, and their efforts should be turned to the practical questions relating to the prevention of war. It was possible, he believed, to prevent it, but it was not to be done by miracle, or extinguishing the lower passions of mankind, for such passions would ever remain; not by putting an end to all injustice or oppression, not by putting an end to international disputes, or by ignoring or by denouncing the professed aim of the war system. Now, could they not provide far better expedients than the sword and the spear? The resolution gave them this very panacea for war. It was by a system of "impartial national arbitration." He spurned the plea for the sword, and the shock of armies, as the criterion of right, as much as he should a plea to set wild beasts free, to decide judicial questions [hear, hear]. No; they must, after all, resort to pacific means as the only likelihood of adjustment. The question, then, was not whether such expedients should be employed, but whether nations should fight first, and then resort to them, or whether they should not go directly to them. One of the proposed substitutes for war was by stipulated arbitration, each nation to abide by the decision of the referees chosen. He visited Washington some time back, as a deputation from the American Peace Congress, upon the question of substitutes for war. The point was submitted to the Senate. The Chairman promptly said, the object was good, and he liked it. The measure, he observed, was the very thing they had been doing within their republic. So that, so far from being objectionable, he would, it assured him, work well. The subject being brought before the Committee, the plan was immediately adopted by a resolution unanimously passed, submitting all matters in dispute to arbitration. Even the Secretary of the War department coincided in the opinion, with the proviso that other states and countries should adopt and act upon the same principle. In America, then, there was going on a complete and rapid change of opinion on this subject. Only by faith and prayer, and hard work, could they expect success; but with these they might expect it with the greatest confidence [cheers].

The Rev. JOHN BURNER was received with hearty demonstrations of applause. He had been in the habit of attending public meetings in that hall ever since its opening, but he had never been present at

one of such length in which the audience on the whole manifested such enduring patience. If war was wisdom, they must indeed be a wonderful gathering of fools [laughter and cheers]. But they were enthusiasts. Well, if this was enthusiasm, it was enthusiasm that lived for eternity. It seemed to live and enjoy equal health everywhere, and there must be a vast amount of intellectual thinking on the part of those who supported such a movement. Where was the man that maintained the justice and equity of war? If there be such a man, he would strongly advise him to go to the Great Exhibition and set himself up there as a curiosity [loud laughter]. Not only peace men, but military men even would come and laugh at him for his absurdity [laughter]. It was absurd to suppose that the combats of war could produce the decisions of justice. As well might you throw a quantity of materials into a field and send a troop of horse to drag them all together and call that glass-making. The results of war were evil, and evil only. The community suffered both morally and materially; they became involved in debt in order that a few might gain by it. And when these few expatiated on the unavoidable necessity and glory of war, let them recollect the story of the old soldier who had lost an arm in military service and was reduced to beggary. When the recruiting sergeant came to the village in which he lived, and attempted to seduce the young by his splendid promises and glowing picture of the glory of war, he would lift up his stump and his beggar's bag, and tell them, "You will come to this at last" [laughter]. So the sergeant found he could get no recruits there, and went away. What, then, is to be substituted for war? Why simply arbitration. They did not mean by that to establish a permanent despotism from which there should be no appeal; but when differences arose between nations, let them mutually agree upon arbitrators, who when their work was done could dissolve. Was there anything unreasonable in such a course? The effect of arbitration would be to bind society together in the bonds of brotherhood. Arbitration belonged to all the courts of the civilized land. But it is said we are not prepared for such an extreme step yet. Well, then, let them agitate for it. If our legislators will not grant it, let us continue to press it upon them. Ply them with petitions—deluge the House of Commons with petitions [cheers]. Our Foreign Secretary is our servant. Let us give him no rest until we make him uncomfortable, and then he will bestir himself. He regarded the present assembly as a living illustration of the practicability of universal peace, and he felt that the vast number of persons who had visited this country to witness the peaceful rivalry of nations in the palace of glass, afforded abundant ground for saying that the progress of the world might be best promoted by an union of science and commerce in the cause of peace [cheers]. The peace of the world will be in future kept not by your Wellingtons, but by your Brewsters [cheers].

The resolution was then put and carried unanimously, with which the sitting closed.

THE SECOND DAY.

The Congress resumed its sittings on Wednesday morning, at 11 o'clock, and notwithstanding the unpropitious state of the weather, the attendance was quite as numerous as on the preceding day—the Hall being quite full. The following members of Parliament were present:—Sir E. N. Buxton, Mr. Bass, Mr. George Sandars, Mr. Jacob Bell, Mr. Brotherton, Mr. Kershaw, Mr. Bright, Mr. Macgregor, Mr. Cobden, and Mr. Ewart.

Sir David Brewster having taken the chair, Mr. RICHARD read letters from several distinguished foreigners, amongst whom were M. Barthelemy St. Hilaire, member of the National Institute, representative of the people, and formerly ambassador to England; M. Carnot, representative of the people, and son of the celebrated Carnot who organized Napoleon's armies; M. Victor de Tracy, formerly Minister of Marine in the administration of M. Odilon Barrot; Dr. Bodenstedt, and General Subervie, one of the oldest generals in France, all giving in their adhesion to the principles of the Congress, wishing success to its efforts, and expressing deep regret at being unable to be present in person. The letter from the latter stated that the writer had always considered war to be a most barbarous institution, and contrary to the laws of humanity. He had assisted in many great battles, and had sometimes reproached Providence for not arresting the hand which had caused the effusion of human blood. Certain pamphlets upon the subject by a gentleman residing at Verviers, in Belgium, were then presented to the Congress, by M. Visschers.

Mr. RICHARD then read in English, and M. GARNIER in French (as was the practice throughout the sittings), the third resolution, which was as follows:—

That the standing armaments with which the Governments of Europe menace each other, amid professions of mutual friendship and confidence, being a prolific source of social immorality, financial embarrassment, and national suffering, while they excite constant disquietude and irritation among the nations, this Congress would earnestly urge upon the Governments the imperative necessity of entering upon a system of international disarmament.

Mr. COBDEN, on coming forward to move the adoption of the resolution, was received with several rounds of applause by the whole meeting, on the subsidence of which he said, that having been, for the last two mornings, occupied until two o'clock, and kept out of his bed until that unseasonable hour, listening to debates in another assembly, and joining in divisions that he feared would lead to very small results, it must be admitted that he had

made thereby a very poor preparation for doing justice to the important topics that had been just placed in his hand, or for making himself heard in that most extensive and influential audience. But, happily, the theme upon which he had to address them was one that did not require the stimulus of energy. He should rather have to congratulate the meeting that they had passed out of the first stage of their agitation, and that they no longer required to have their attention aroused and captivated by stirring language [hear, hear]. The very appointment of their Chairman must be considered as a step in advance in the progress of their agitation. For his habits of simple examination, of careful balance, and of rigorous deduction, as applicable to the scientific pursuits in which he was engaged, led him ever to apply the intellectual test, and to avoid all those passionate appeals which might lead them into the regions of the impracticable, however much they might charm them by their grandeur or their novelty. A proof of the wisdom of their choice had been already given by the fact that the speeches which had followed his inaugural address had appealed more to their reason and their judgment than had almost ever been the case in such an assembly. He was glad that they were taking this direction, and assuming such a tone in dealing with the question before them. It was nothing new to declaim against the horrors of war. For upwards of 2,000 years there was scarcely a poet of eminence who had not told the world something about the horrors of war. There was scarcely a great writer who had not lamented over and described them. In speaking about the horrors of war they were but following an old example; but the question—the practical question—that had always been put to them was, "How do you propose to get rid of war?" and the practical object which they had in view was to answer that question [hear, hear]. Every one admitted the desirableness of putting an end to war. Every one said that it would promote the happiness and prosperity of the people, and advance the cause of religion. Well, then, that being so generally admitted, they had next to consider how had evil ever been done away with? Was it not by propaganda? Was it not by individual men going forth—by men who were thoroughly convinced themselves, and who were in earnest, going forth singly, and arguing with and convincing others, who, in turn, spread the truth further and wider, until it became generally acknowledged? [hear, hear.] For, if men who had truth on their side were true to themselves and to their cause, it would triumph in spite of all opposition. He strongly urged this individual exertion upon them. He had been dealing with this subject in another place, where he had had a better opportunity than could be gained elsewhere of testing the progress of public opinion in this country, and he could assure them that in proportion as they—the people out of doors—had shown a disposition to interest themselves in the advance of peace principles and in the diminution of war armaments, in the same proportion did he find that an individual like himself had in Parliament a chance of a patient hearing [hear, hear]. These remarks brought him to his resolution, which was not what could properly be called a peace resolution. In proposing it he was assuming that we were in a state of peace. But what he proposed was, that we should take steps to ensure the continuance of peace, and that, as a preliminary, we should not have war preparations kept up in the midst of peace [hear, hear]. He maintained that, short of the actual suffering, of the loss of life and the devastation which took place upon the field of battle, every other social and economical evil that attended upon the state of war attended the keeping up of war armaments. They had not the battle-fields running with blood, nor the destroyed cities, nor the trampled-down harvests, and that was all. For they had the heavy taxation. They had the demoralization of the barracks. They had the waste of the national resources occasioned by maintaining large bodies of men in a state of idleness. And on what grounds were these armaments maintained in a time of peace? Why, forsooth, it was said to be because it was necessary to be prepared for war, in order to prevent war. That was the answer which had been embodied in a motto which they had found written over the gates of a large town in Belgium. He trusted that their friend M. Visscher would have it removed [cheers, and laughter]. The motto was in Latin, but its meaning was, "If you would preserve peace, you must be prepared for war." And people seemed to have taken for granted the wisdom of the saying, and to have gone on in that belief, until they found that it was easy to discover a pretence for going to war, when they were always so ready for it [hear, hear]. He had said some years ago, and he had been ridiculed for having said it, that he was not afraid of the countries on the continent of Europe going to war with one another; he had said it three years ago—he had said it two years ago, and he now repeated it. They had, indeed, seen commotions and wars upon the continent within that period, but they were internal commotions and civil wars, not wars of countries with one another. They had seen, indeed, the war in Hungary, where the sovereign of Austria had asked the sovereign of a neighbouring country to aid him in putting down his revolted subjects. But they had seen no aggression of one great country upon another. In fact, they had seen nothing like the tendency to war which existed amongst the nations of Europe forty years ago [hear, hear]. But he should make this reservation—it was his belief that if they went on increasing their armaments, if they went on increasing the numbers of their armies from 2,000,000 to 3,000,000, and from 3,000,000 to 4,000,000 of bayonets, and if they continued to wring their subsistence from the indus-

trious people, in order to maintain those masses of idle men, the nations might become indifferent at length whether those masses did or did not come into mortal conflict. They might become tired of the burden, and even willing to get rid of it by allowing those soldiers to slaughter one another [hear, hear]. And he should not be surprised if the war party which existed in every country, and those armies and their generals becoming anxious for war, should precipitate it. But if such a state of things should arise, it would be in consequence of the existence of those masses of armed men. It would not be because those mighty armies had acted as preventives to the recurrence of war [loud cheers]. He was now speaking in England, to an audience the majority of which were Englishmen, although there were also there foreigners from every part of the world. And he was sorry to say that, with all their boasts, England and English wealth had done more for war, and for the maintenance of an aggressive attitude, than any other country in the world [hear, hear]. And in saying that England had done so, he was only giving her credit for that greater amount of energy which she had ever shown beyond all other nations in Europe with which he was acquainted—that energy which had enabled Englishmen to succeed in every enterprise, whether good or bad, in which they had ever embarked; an energy which made them impatient even when they had altered their opinions upon a subject, if other people did not at once adopt their views. They had been talking in that hall the other day about the slave-trade, and they were quite impatient and intolerant with the rest of the world, because they had not all at once changed their opinions upon the subject. Why, twenty years ago England owned more slaves than any other country in Europe; and fifty years ago England had almost the monopoly of the slave-trade; and with regard to war, England, which had not had an invasion that could be called such eight hundred years or nearly, had had a better opportunity than any people in the world of remaining at peace; yet she had not only spent more money upon war than any other nation, but she had heaped upon herself a greater debt than all other nations, not merely in paying the expenses of her own wars, but in paying other nations for cutting one another's throats [hear, hear]. And now Englishmen were hugging themselves as being something better than other men because they were favourable to peace. They believed that now at length England had come to her senses, and that she was pursuing a more pacific and less aggressive course than heretofore. Let them divest themselves of the national pride and self-complacency which had been so much spoken of by foreigners. He had seen too much of that feeling of late. He had seen within the last few months flattery heaped upon Englishmen—laid on with a trowel [a laugh]. There was no greater danger to be apprehended to their character—no greater barrier to their improvement—than that they should listen complacently to that flattery of their nationality, which was but a vulgar mode of cajoling the people of any nation. Let them only consider how they exhibited their desire for peace. Did they present before the people of the world the least aggressive attitude amongst the nations? Not to begin with their standing armaments at home, what were their positions on the face of the earth? Why, where was the nation that had ever occupied so many and such strategic positions on the surface of the globe? They had fortified strong places and garrisoned them all over the world, to such an extent that, if a war ever should come between them and any other strong maritime power, the first step necessary to be taken would be to blow up and abandon some of them. They had Gibraltar, Malta, and Corfu, in the Mediterranean. Crossing the Isthmus of Suez, they had Aden. Then came the Mauritius, which was called the outwork of India. Returning, they had a military position at the Cape. Crossing the Atlantic westward, they had the powerful fortress of Halifax, ready to meet all comers. Going from the Continent, they came to the island of Bermuda, where they were laying out enormous sums in fortifications; and it was but the other day that he had heard an argument to induce Parliament to keep up the fortifications of Jamaica. He should also mention the fortifications of Quebec, which was called the Gibraltar of Canada. But he could not go on with the enumeration. He wished some military man—some one who was competent to the task—would sit down and calculate how many men would be required to garrison those places; for he believed the first step necessary in case of a war would be to find an army to defend them, and then to find another army to defend our own shores [hear, hear]. Now, all those fortifications might be necessary, if being prepared, as some people contended they ought to be, were necessary. But it could not be said that such preparations were necessary as matters of self-defence at home. He repeated that there never was in the history of the world a country that presented such an aggressive attitude as England did at the present moment; and if any man, or any set of men, thought that we could be otherwise than a heavily taxed people whilst such a system lasted, he could only say that they used a system of arithmetic which he did not understand [hear, hear]. Well, then, such being their position, and such the attitude which they presented abroad, what was their position at home? Had they been second to any other country in the augmentation of their forces at home? He had been sitting for the last three sessions upon a committee of the House of Commons for the purpose of inquiring into the expenditure of the army, navy, and ordnance, and what had he ascertained? Why, that they had

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FOREIGN AND COLONIAL NEWS.

FRANCE.

The Assembly has followed up its rejection of the revision project by a vote of censure on ministers for their suspicious industry in getting up petitions in its behalf. On Monday se'nnight, M. Melun, the reporter of the committee of petitions, called attention, in terms of strong disapprobation, to the efforts that had evidently been made by functionaries in the departments, apparently in consequence of orders from the Minister of the Interior, and recommended that a number of these petitions be ignored. After some violent attacks on M. Faucher, who refused a satisfactory explanation, the Assembly voted, by a majority of 13—333 against 320—that, contrary to its duty, Government had excited citizens to petition. The same night, the ministers tendered their resignation, which the President refused to accept. That the vote was directed rather against the President than his ministers, seem to be evidenced by the circumstance that, two days later, a vote of extraordinary expenses in the office of the Interior was carried by 481 to 205. The same minister has introduced a bill authorizing a loan of 50,000,000 francs for great public works in Paris.

The Bonapartist committee has put out a manifesto, urging fresh efforts during the next three months. The Fusionists have determined upon their candidates for a Committee of Permanence on the rising of the Assembly. The Republicans are still undecided between Cavaignac and Carnot as a candidate for the presidency; the democratic representatives of all shades being determined to exclude Ledru Rollin.

M. Cabet, the founder of Icaria, has been acquitted by the Court to which he appealed of the charge of swindling and embezzlement, and the sentence of the lower tribunal been revoked.

ITALY.

The Pope has returned to Rome to find he is not master there. The French commander has ordered the officers of the inquisition to give up their rooms to some of his troops; and his Holiness had been fain to find room for the expelled fathers in the Vatican. With French connivance, however, the strongest measures are taken by the ecclesiastico-civil power. More than a hundred individuals have been expelled from Rome, although established there for twenty or thirty years, because not actually natives of the city. The judges, moreover (on account of the enormous quantity of cases they have to examine), are allowed to keep prisoners under arrest, on the paltriest pretexts, for three months, before commencing proceedings against them; and the police have invented a sort of interdict, by which "suspects" are forbidden to leave their homes between sunset and sunrise, or to appear in any public place.

The following story is told, at much greater length than we can give it, by the correspondents of the morning papers:—

A "fast" young man died the other day at Pisa, disdainful of the good offices of the Church. He was told the devil would claim him. He exacted a promise from a Corsican, his friend, that he would watch over his body until it was buried. The Corsican watched alone in the convent chapel. In the middle of the night came the devil, with hoofs, horns, tail, and a clanking chain. The Corsican asked him his business. The devil groaned and stretched out his claws. The Corsican informed him that he must go, or he would speedily send him below. The devil scornfully laughed; whereupon the Corsican drew a pistol, and shot the devil. The report of the pistol alarmed the police, and a number of those guardians of the night having appeared, they saw, to their astonishment, the corpse lying in its proper place, the Corsican sitting tranquilly by its side, and a bleeding mass covered with red and black, with a tremendous pair of horns and the well-known tail. Poor devil! he turned out to be the "bellman" of the convent. The Corsican was tried, and acquitted, as he showed that in the Tuscan code there was no penalty attached to shooting the devil; and, as he persisted in saying that when he fired he believed he had to deal with his Satanic Majesty, and no mortal representative.

GERMANY.

The Frankfurt Diet has broken silence, and that contra the influence of Lord Palmerston. In the sitting of the 17th inst., Austria brought forward a proposition to the effect that the admission of the non-German provinces of the Austrian empire into the German Confederation was an internal question, in which no foreign power had the right to interfere, which was adopted either unanimously or by a large majority.

The Prussian correspondent of the *Daily News*, keeps his eye upon the ecclesiastical police of that country. In a late communication, he says:—

The ecclesiastical authorities here have been rather busy in enforcing the observance of the Sabbath. During the hours of Divine service, not only has the attempt been made to close the taverns, but also to stop all business in the first hotels. On the last Sunday the police entered the Hotel du Nord, and would not allow the dinner to be served at the usual hour. The guests who were at table were obliged to rise, and the dinner was postponed till the afternoon service was over. This regulation has since been withdrawn. In Prussia the object in this matter is to imitate England. The fact is, the Prussian Government, as other foreign states, cannot but be struck with the wonderful prosperity and internal order and tranquillity of England, and very rightly attributes this to moral causes; and so logically enough traces it up to the religiousness of the land. Of this religiousness, however, the only theory tangible seems to be the observance of the Sabbath; and the thought is, that, if this day were as well observed here as in England, all the moral effects so much desired would follow. . . . Farther, the evangelical

Church has been signalling its zeal by forcibly shutting up a meeting-room of a little Society of Irvingites, who have been established here for somewhat more than a year. It was no doubt their insignificance that provoked the act of persecution they have suffered. The Baptists here, being a recognised body in Protestant countries, the ecclesiastical authorities dare not shut up their places of worship, though they would willingly get rid of them if they could.

The selection of Prince Christian of Cluckaburg, as heir presumptive to the throne of Denmark, was solemnly ratified on the 19th inst. by all the members of the royal family. The Emperor of Russia has given his full and entire consent to this solution of this long-pending question.

INDIA.

The semi-monthly overland mail has arrived with papers to the 25th ult. The following passage from the *Times* correspondent will be read with interest:—

The suspension of the State allowance to the temple of Juggernaut, and some cases which have been decided in accordance with the recently passed Toleration Act (No. 21 of 1850), have given rise to an anti-missionary movement among the orthodox Hindoos at Calcutta. At all three Presidencies an English education is considered by all classes of natives as the shortest road to wealth, and the only cheap English education obtainable is that afforded by the mission schools. Many thousands of native children are accordingly educated at these institutions, and now and then (though such an occurrence is wonderfully rare) a Hindoo youth is converted much to the scandal of the native community. Many of these outcasts, on arriving at years of discretion, are desirous of returning to the religion of their fathers, but they have hitherto been prevented from so doing by the impossible severity of the mode of expiating loss of caste (wandering forty-eight years as an ascetic) hitherto insisted on. A great meeting of orthodox Hindoos has accordingly been held at Calcutta, for the purpose of substituting a milder form of expiation. It was stated at the meeting that there were fifty Christian converts at Calcutta, who would return to the Hindoo creed as soon as the milder form of penance was assented to. There is little doubt that it will be so eventually.

All things considered, the number of converts to Christianity made in Bengal and Western India is astonishingly small. In the Bombay Presidency there are (according to the almanack) about fifty missionaries of various denominations, yet a conversion is very seldom heard of. The island of Bombay itself contains an insulated native population of about 500,000, who are remarkably free from caste prejudices, and have lived under an English Government for nearly two centuries, yet there are not half a dozen native communicants to be found in Bombay. This result is very discouraging when contrasted with the rapid, extended, and permanent success obtained by the Jesuit missionaries of the European power that preceded us in Western India.

POSTSCRIPT.

Wednesday, July 30, Two o'clock.

PARLIAMENTARY INTELLIGENCE.

ECCLESIASTICAL TITLES BILL.

In the House of Lords, last night, the Marquis of LANSDOWNE moved the third reading of this bill.

The Earl of ABERDEEN could not refrain from availing himself of the opportunity to protest against the passing of this ill-omened measure. It would be for others who would come after to determine whether that protest were consistent with the principles of good faith and justice, and whether the apprehensions which he entertained were only vague and unmanly fears.

The Bishop of OXFORD, in a long and eloquent speech, explained the reasons which induced him to support the measure. The bishops especially, to whom the spiritual education of the poor was intrusted, were bound to protest against the aggression of the Bishop of Rome—first, because it was a systematic intrusion of a rival Church; and, secondly, because it was an introduction of false and fallacious doctrine into the country. He warned the House that the bill, when passed, must not become a dead letter, but that it must be rigorously enforced against that indefatigable enemy, whose energies for centuries past had been so unremittingly aimed at the destruction of the English Church.

The Duke of ARGYLL denied that the value of the bill consisted in the extent to which it was to be enforced. They had now established that great principle of the law, and the Roman Catholics would not be able to found an argument upon their silence.

The Earls of GLENALL and FORTESCUE supported the measure, while Lord NELSON, the Marquis of SLIGO, and Lord STUART DE DECLES, protested against it. Lord GAGE said that the increase of convents and monasteries was the real Papal aggression, and he should be glad to see the Government abandon this bill, which would lead to nothing, and boldly meet the actual danger.

Earl GREY, in reply to some remarks of the Bishop of OXFORD, explained the position of the Roman Catholic colonial bishops, and in answer to the Duke of NEWCASTLE declared that he was still a firm supporter of religious liberty.

The bill was then read a third time. After a discussion on an amendment proposed by Lord MONTAGUE—by which the penalties enacted under the measure were to be avoided, if the Roman Catholic prelates in Ireland took the designation used in the Bequests Act—which was subsequently withdrawn, after some explanations from the Marquis of Lansdowne, the bill was then read a third time and passed.

A protest of eleven clauses against the measure, signed by Montague, Vaux, Lovat, Camoys, Montague (Sligo), Rossie (Kinnaird), Fingall, Charlemont, Leitrim, and Petrie—and another of fourteen

clauses, subscribed by Gordon (Aberdeen), Newcastle, Canning, St. Germans, Wharnccliffe, Lyttelton, and Montague—were placed upon the books of the House.

THE CRYSTAL PALACE.

The question of the retention or removal of the Great Exhibition building, was yesterday evening raised in the House of Commons by Mr. HAYWOOD, who moved for an address to the Queen, praying that her Majesty would direct the preservation of the structure until the 1st of May next, with a view to determine its adaptation to further public utility. He supported the motion by argument most likely to weigh with its opponents. Gentlemen had no place of resort but Tattersall's corner until the erection of the Crystal Palace, and it afforded the nearest approach to a ladies' club.

Col. SIBTHORP rose at once amidst loud laughter, to oppose the motion, which he did in such language as this:—

Time would prove whether fortunately or not, but as he believed, unfortunately for the people, the Exhibition was persisted in, and an edifice was built in Hyde-park. And what had been the result? The desecration of the Sabbath [laughter]. The demoralisation of the people [laughter]. The disunion of parties [loud laughter]. The people had been seduced [laughter]—aye, seduced to come up from their homes to London to see this transparent humbug—this harmonious confederation—this world's fair [much laughter]. The people had scraped together and borrowed money to come up. They had spent that money, and (the hon. and gallant colonel spoke here in the most solemn manner) they had gone back without a penny. What followed this? Poverty and distress and ruin. The whole country had experienced this. Ask the tradesmen of the metropolis—ask the tradesmen of the provincial towns—they all said their trade was lost—their customers were at the Exhibition [laughter]. This was a fact, deny it who can [laughter]. The Crystal Palace was a wonderful building externally—he admitted it [hear, hear]. Of its appearance internally he knew nothing. He had denied himself the opportunity—it might be the gratification—of entering it, for his opinions were very strong in regard to the Exhibition, and he believed it would have been deserting the duty which he owed to his country if he had in any way encouraged the delusion which he had denounced [great laughter]. He altogether objected to the proposition to perpetuate this nuisance. Morally, religiously, and socially, it had been a great curse to the country, and he wanted to get rid of it.

Mr. LABOUCHERE eulogized the Exhibition and its results. As one of the Commissioners, and a member of the Government, he would forbear to give any opinion upon it. Except a vote of the House interposed, the Commissioners had no alternative but to hand over the building to Messrs. Fox and Henderson for destruction. They had also engaged to pay £120,000 for the use of the edifice, and if it was retained beyond the 1st of September £70,000 more as purchase-money; but, as had been stated, the builders were ready to contract for its preservation.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER also forbore to give an opinion on the question, but Lord SEYMOUR spoke against the motion; Parliament, as well as the Commons, were pledged to the removal of the building. Sir R. INGLIS believed the Exhibition had been a genuine Peace Congress, and would like to retain the building as a memento, but nothing less than an act of Parliament would suffice to do so. Mr. GOULBURN and Mr. BANKES also opposed the motion. Mr. EWART, Mr. MACGREGOR, Colonel THOMPSON, Mr. WAKLEY, Mr. VILLIERS, Mr. CLAY, and Mr. GEACH, spoke strongly in support of the motion. Mr. Wakley said he should not be surprised, in case the proposition for the destruction were seriously made, if the labouring men of the metropolis—believing that the building was intended to be a palace of industry, as well as a temple of peace and science—refused to lay violent hands upon it.

The House then divided—

For the motion..... 75
Against it 47

—28

The announcement of the numbers was received with loud cheers.

THE CHARITABLE TRUSTS BILL was considered in committee of the House of Lords. The Duke of CLEVELAND moved that the three royal hospitals of London, Christ's Hospital, St. Bartholomew's, and St. Thomas's, should be exempted from the operation of the bill. He was confident, from the constitution of the managing body of these hospitals, that any abuse was impossible. The LORD CHANCELLOR opposed the motion, and it was negatived.

THE CASE OF MRS. HICKS, lately evicted from her lodge in Hyde Park, was raised in the lower House by Mr. OSBORNE. Lord SEYMOUR declared that she did not hold any site in the park on a royal gift; and that, in 1848, she asked leave, on the ground of having fifteen children, to be allowed to put a stand for her ginger beer bottles, and from that had advanced year by year to the construction of a complete house. Such were her termagant habits that none of the keepers liked to interfere with her, and it was only after a careful examination of her claim by the Duke of Wellington, as ranger, and by the solicitors, that her hut was pulled down. No erection whatever was permitted in the parks. Prince Albert had built a model cottage, but on being informed that it was contrary to usage, he promised to remove it in November.

THE METROPOLITAN SEWERS COMMISSION BILL was considered in committee, after a motion by Mr. WAKLEY for its postponement, which gave rise to mutual explanations of Lord ERINGTON and Sir B. HALL. Several divisions were taken, but all the clauses were agreed to.

THE DUTY ON HOPS was again the subject of a motion by Mr. FREWEN, declaring it to be impolitic and unjust. Mr. HOBDS moved an amendment fixing the rate of reduction. Mr. CORBEN supported the motion, which, the amendment having been withdrawn, was negatived by 59 to 30.

A COUNT-OUT of the House was effected, at a quarter to eleven, just as Mr. Anstey was commencing a speech on the petitions from Australia against transportation to that colony.

CORN EXCHANGE, MARK-LANE, Wednesday, July 30, 1851.

With fine weather for the Crops, and good supplies of Foreign Grain, the sale for every article on our market to day is very limited, prices as on Monday.

From its extensive circulation—far exceeding most of the journals of a similar character published in London—the *Nonconformist* presents a very desirable medium for advertisements, especially those relating to Schools, Books, Articles of General Consumption, Situations, and Appeals for Philanthropic and Religious Objects. The terms are low:—

For Eight Lines and under 5s. 6d.
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The Nonconformist.

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, JULY 30, 1851.

SUMMARY.

OUR readers will perceive that the report of proceedings at the Peace Congress, published by us in a second edition last week, and transferred to the present number, for the benefit of those of our friends who were content to wait, occupies a very considerable portion of our space. We judged it expedient to do on this occasion, as on some others, namely, cut down our general intelligence in order to make room for as complete a record of this interesting event as it was possible for us to obtain. Some apology, therefore, is due from us for the meagreness of this week's information on the topics not immediately connected with the Congress—for deferring a statement of our opinion on an ecclesiastical question on which we had promised some remarks this week—and for excluding several letters of various correspondents which would otherwise have appeared. We are sensible that in adopting this plan we do not meet the taste of all our readers, but we have been animated by a desire to consult the wishes of what we suppose to be the majority. Such deviations from routine are not likely to occur often; and if anything can justify them, we believe that the importance of the Peace Congress, and the deep interest attaching to its deliberations, will be regarded by most as furnishing ample reason for doing so on the present occasion.

The London Peace Congress must have realized the most sanguine hopes of the numerous and increasing friends of that movement in furtherance of which it was summoned and held. The large and unprecedented number of delegates present, the variety of circles and interests represented, the unusual crowd of visitors, the different topics bearing upon the question of the maintenance of peace, brought forward and discussed—the numerous adhesions of men whose names are illustrious, given in—the general excellence, and, for the most part, pertinence of the addresses delivered—the high tone of morality pervading them, and the unflagging interest exhibited through the protracted sittings of three days, attest, far more forcibly than can any language of ours, the rapid progress which this movement has made in public esteem. It will be quite unnecessary for us here to comment upon the conspicuous features which the report presents, more especially as elsewhere we have given, as our custom is, a running description of the proceedings, in addition to a report of the speeches. We observe, with pleasure, that the tone of our contemporaries is becoming far more respectful than it once was. Of course the Congress is still regarded by many as pursuing an impracticable end, and the chief men engaged in it are charged with indulging romantic dreams impossible to be realized. But this line of remark is to be expected for some time yet to come, and in view of what is already done, and what is doing, may be listened to with the utmost composure. The great object of such assemblies is being answered more swiftly and fully than the most visionary amongst us had imagined. The mass of public opinion is fermenting with the leaven, and when that process is complete, the end aimed at will be at no great distance.

It would be unpardonable in us to omit all notice of the eclipse on Monday last. That there was one in exact accordance with astronomical predictions we fully believe, although we must confess that our faith was not materially assisted in the present instance by our senses. In what part of the kingdom the phenomenon was visible we have not yet heard. In the metropolis dark masses of cloud hid the sun from sight, and, although about three o'clock the gloom was somewhat deeper than it had been, no one would have suspected, but for the teaching of science, that it was occasioned by the passage of the moon across the sun's disc. The event, however, was real, though not cognizable by the eye; just as many things are certain, though not perceived by men who have no faith but in their own understanding.

In the moral, as in the natural world, some of the most important processes go on behind such a cloud of prejudice and misconception, as to be invisible to all but such as cherish a strong faith in general Providential laws. As, doubtless, there are many, even at this day, who would deny the fact of the sun's eclipse, because they could not see it, so are there many who pronounce every end unattainable, because they are unable to appreciate the means employed to compass it.

The House of Commons has roused the two constituencies of London and Greenwich. These bodies having deliberately elected certain men to be their representatives in the popular branch of Legislature, find them returned upon their hands, not because they are unwilling to swear to the matters required of them, as a guarantee of their fidelity as citizens, but because they decline to take the oath in a manner not binding upon their consciences. Accordingly, the electors assembled and adopted certain petitions, the purport of which was that they be heard by counsel at the bar of the House, in defence of what they regard as their constitutional right. The rejection of their prayer will but serve to prompt other constituencies to the selection of other Jewish candidates—for if one thing is more certain than another, it is that in any contest between the House of Commons and the electoral body from whom they emanate, the former will attempt in vain to overawe the latter.

The case of Mr. Salomons may be considered as disposed of. The present Parliament will not admit him, the House of Commons having assumed to itself the novel function of interpreting law, as well as making it. The matter, however, will not rest here. Two notices of action for the recovery of the penalties incurred by Mr. Salomons for sitting and voting in the House of Commons have already been served upon him. These penalties he will be adjudged to pay, unless he can prove, to the satisfaction of the Court, that he has taken the oaths in the form appointed by law. Of course, therefore, the judges will be called upon to say whether or not Mr. Salomons' mode of swearing was or was not all that the law requires. If they decide against him, it will be a further argument for altering the law forthwith; but, if in his favour, it will appear that the House of Commons is illegally excluding from its deliberations one of their own members. That must be bad generalship, which has exposed the House to the possibility of such a disgrace. Lord John will have little reason to boast, if such should be the issue of the present contest. It will be then discovered, when too late, that he has led his followers into a position in which they will be most awfully peppered.

The Lords have got through committee on the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill—Government taking care, in that place, to stand by the more stringent provisions of the measure which, in the Commons, they stoutly resisted. Their plea is that they dare not risk the bill by referring it again to the consideration of the lower House. And hence, rather than imperil the single measure of the session, they prefer to take it with all its obvious defects. In a few days, therefore, the bill will become law, and, possibly, no more will be heard of it. Possibly otherwise. The application of the law is not left exclusively to the discretion of her Majesty's advisers. It is impossible, therefore, to predict what may be its operation, or in what inconvenient ways it may exhibit its vitality. Such as it is, however, the measure is the only fruit of the session. Parliament is about to rise. The White Bait dinner is fixed. Her Majesty will prorogue the legislative assemblies on the 8th of August. Six months have been spent, and that, too, laboriously, all but in vain. The panic of last autumn has left fearful marks of its virulence upon the legislative proceedings of the present year.

The National Assembly of France has administered another rebuff to the President of the Republic by censuring the shameless activity of his functionaries in getting up petitions for the prolongation of his power, and the retention of their own places. The humiliated Ministers hastened to get rid of their offices, but did not succeed in doing so. Louis Napoleon trusts, we suppose, to a ballot-box display of popular attachment to indemnify him for every stretch of the prerogative, and compensate for every mortification; but even six millions of suffrages a second time recorded, could scarcely vote away the sarcasms of Victor Hugo. His partisans, however, fall to again immediately at the manufacture of petitions, and the two other parties recommence balloting for a presidential candidate. The selection of one on whom the various shades of Republicans would heartily agree, and his actual displacement of the Emperor's heir, would be the happiest event in the history of France—inasmuch as it would prove that she is capable of preferring the representative of a beneficent idea to that of a glorious tradition.—The military dictator of Portugal is finding his legions troublesome at several points, even to mutiny; and the reputation of strength—like the credit of wealth, its own vitality

—is departing from him.—The Frankfort Diet has resolved to entertain the Austrian proposition for the incorporation of her foreign provinces into the German Union, and repudiates the right of the other European powers to interfere—forgetful that they were the creators of that artificial nationality, and are therefore its natural protectors.—There is now sitting at Paris, in the office of the Foreign Minister, a sanatory convention, composed of consuls and physicians, commissioned by the several Governments of Europe, and charged with the construction of a quarantine code, in substitution for the present ineffective, costly, and often cruel system. Is it ridiculous to propose a similar gathering of representative statesmen and eminent citizens, charged with authority to impose a restraint upon passions even more calamitous in their outbreak than the direst ravages of pestilence?

A PENNY FOR YOUR THOUGHTS.

THE Select Committee appointed to inquire into the present state and operation of the law relative to newspaper stamps, and to the transmission of newspapers and other publications by post, have given in their report. Their general conclusion is that, apart from fiscal considerations, news is not of itself a desirable subject of taxation. The evidence elicited by this committee exhibits, in a strong light, the objections and abuses incident to the present system of newspaper stamps, arising from the difficulty of defining the meaning of the term "News"—the inequalities which exist in the application of the Newspaper Stamp Act, and the anomalies and evasions that it occasions in postal arrangements—the unfair competition to which stamped newspapers are exposed with unstamped publications—the limitation imposed by the stamp upon the circulation of the best newspapers, and the impediments which it throws in the way of the diffusion of useful knowledge regarding current and recent events among the poorer classes. They recommend the abolition of the stamp duty on newspapers, an alteration of postal arrangements in regard to their transmission, and a short privilege of copyright in respect of original intelligence, to protect the high class newspapers from piracy by cheap reprints.

The report is drawn up with considerable ability, and, as the reader will see, arrives at conclusions satisfactory to reason and justice. It has placed the whole subject upon a basis of solid argument, and accurate information, from which no sophistry can again remove it. It may be acted upon, or neglected, accordingly as the Chancellor of the Exchequer may be alive or dead to his own reputation, and to the intellectual improvement of Her Majesty's subjects. But, at least, it can no more be put aside by pretences calculated to impose upon the unwary. As a matter of debate it is settled, and, looking to the rapid approach of the termination of the present Parliament, and to the certainty of a fairer representation, before long, of the will of the people in the elective branch of Legislature, we think it not unlikely that the conclusions of the committee will be embodied in law next session. We only regret that the question of the Newspaper Stamp Duty has been considered apart from those other taxes which enhance the cost of knowledge to the masses, and that the operation of the Excise Duty on Paper, and the Stamp Duty on advertisements, was not considered in connexion with the subject upon which the Select Committee have presented so lucid a report.

There is something so preposterously unjustifiable and absurd in the newspaper stamp, and in kindred imposts, that one cannot sufficiently wonder at the audacity of the Chancellor of the Exchequer who first imposed them, nor at the endurance of the public which till now has permitted their continuance. All knowledge is useful, or may be made so; but knowledge of current events is absolutely necessary to a competent discharge of social and political duties. It has been the policy of our Government, under fiscal pretences, to obstruct mental light in the process of its transmission, and then to punish those who, in consequence, have been consigned to darkness, by withholding from them their constitutional rights. That species of information which is most likely to awaken curiosity, and stir up the intellectual faculties to active exercise, has been considered by our rulers a fit subject for taxation, whilst that which depraves the taste, inflames the passions, misleads the judgment, and undermines the conscience, is left free and unrestricted. It would seem as if they who make laws for us had formed an alliance with ignorance against knowledge, and vice against virtue. The weapons of the former they allow to be produced in any quantity; those of the latter they incalculably diminish by fiscal regulations. In effect, their legislation has thus addressed the poorer classes of society: "Read, as you like, any trash which impure imaginations may find it profitable to purvey to you; read fictions the foulest, or essays the most unattractive and unserviceable, and we will ask of you no pecuniary acknowledgment. But passing facts

or comments upon them, no matter to what subject they relate, no matter how important for you to know, no matter how stimulative to your mental activity, or how conducive to your moral interests, shall not be furnished you until they have first paid toll to our treasury. You may have candle-light and welcome—gaslight, if you please—but daylight you shall not have for your minds, as an untaxed luxury, and news shall not be told you, save at an enhanced cost, until it has ceased to be news, and, therefore, ceased to be attractive." Now, we scruple not to affirm, of any such fiscal arrangement as this, that it sins against all the laws of morality—that it is a gratuitous tyranny—in itself devoid of a single recommendation, and in its consequences quite as pernicious as a censorship of the press.

It is said, however, that a penny stamp on newspapers is but a fair equivalent for a gratuitous transmission of these publications by the post. The Select Committee have dissipated this delusion. It is not fair—quite otherwise. A large portion of every newspaper's impression is sent to its readers without enlisting the service of the post-office at all; and even of those which go from the metropolis to the provinces, the greater half, perhaps, reach the large towns by special railway conveyance. Yet, upon every copy, whether sent through the post or not, the penny is charged; whilst under cover of stamped newspapers, both letters and unstamped publications, in great numbers, evade the payment of postage altogether. If it be thought desirable that revenue should be derived from the postage of newspapers, it would be simpler, juster, and more economical, that the collection of such revenue should be managed as in the case of letters, directly, by the post-office, rather than indirectly by another department.

The Select Committee have suggested the propriety of protecting from piracy those newspapers which, at great cost to their proprietors, obtain original and important intelligence. On this subject we think it but fair to quote from a leading article in the *Times*, a justification of this recommendation:—

"As things now are, newspaper publishers are, we believe, the only class of people who literally observe the rule of the first Christians in a perfect community of goods. The information we give to the world every morning before our readers are out of their beds costs us hundreds of pounds, but no sooner is it out than it is freely appropriated by all our brethren of the press. We have our correspondents in India, in America, in Paris, Vienna, and all over the world. We have lines of communication from a thousand different parts to Printing-house-square, all of them requiring great management and cost. The intelligence is brought in breathless haste to our office, arranged, composed, and printed, with costly and critical celerity. In a few hours we may see it *verbatim* in the columns of a contemporary, which repays the obligation with the rankest abuse, and a day or two after we may find our precious matter filling whole pages of some provincial journal, whose only original matter, perhaps, is a furious tirade against the victim of this wholesale spoliation, claiming spotless integrity for the spoiler, and denying all principle to the spoiled. So customary is this that the offenders are really unconscious of their crime. Of course, it occasionally strikes us in, perhaps, a stronger light than we can ever expect it to strike our provincial contemporaries themselves. If it were an object to extend our circulation, we might, perhaps, complain that in certain promising districts of this country the London papers are in great measure superseded by provincial reprints, published and circulated almost as soon as copies of our paper could reach the rural districts by the general post. At present the grievance—for a grievance it is—has certain practical limits, and the penny stamp, as being a limit to the circulation of the press altogether, is one of those limits. But, in the event of its abolition, there is some reason to apprehend that a swarm of papers would spring into existence, both in town and in country, that would recklessly appropriate our intelligence the instant it appeared, and undersell us in its propagation. The fivepenny weekly paper is likely to be generally superseded by the penny and twopenny daily paper, and other cheaper and more frequent channels of intelligence. Unless they are taught better manners they will prey on us without scruple and abuse us in return. The Select Committee on Stamps have not put us so entirely out of the question, and they propose a limited law of copyright, just to give us a few hours' start of our numerous plunderers. That is no more than is fair, though whether the predatory legion is prepared for an enforcement of the rights of property, is more than we or they will venture to say. The introduction of penny and twopenny papers will be a new state of things, and we can have no right to object to it; but we certainly shall be justified in protesting against pirates who shall first rob us of our costly goods and then undersell us in our own market."

We have now only to express our hearty concurrence with the committee in the report on which they have agreed—our deep gratification at the tone which pervades it, and our earnest hope that it will not be allowed to remain, for any long period, a dead letter amongst other Parliamentary Blue Books. The Legislature professes to be most anxious for the education of the people. Here is a method of giving, at least, a partial effect to their desires, without wandering from their own legitimate province. Their sincerity may well be doubted, until they have removed every fiscal restriction upon the circulation of knowledge. They must not blow hot and cold with the same breath, nor whilst they give with one hand to the promotion of education,

take with the other from existing educational means an annual amount nearly six times as large. The matter having now been fairly examined into they are debarred every plea for upholding the present system, but that which to put forward would be to pronounce their own condemnation.

ITALY, HER MARTYRS AND FRIENDS.

WE felt it difficult last week to restrain the enthusiasm stirred within us by the sight and contemplation of the Peace Congress—we feel it equally difficult to-day to curb the expression of opposite feelings at the revelations of Mr. Gladstone's pamphlet on Naples. We must do so, however—at least, till we have narrated the following facts:—

In October or November of last year, "the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P. for the University of Oxford," went to Italy. He had heard, in common with the English public, of the persecution of the Neapolitan Liberals by a Government re-established in despotism; but went to the spot with no design of ascertaining the exact truth, or interfering in the matter. There, however, he saw and heard things which he felt he could not, as a man or a Christian, conceal or let alone. He found the prisons crowded. The Government put forth the statement that the number of prisoners was about two thousand, and refused all means of ascertaining accurately. He was soon convinced, from the crowded state of particular prisons, and what was known in particular localities, that "twenty thousand was no unreasonable estimate;" the general belief, "shared by persons the most intelligent, considerate, and well-informed," carried it up to thirty thousand. Shortly after his arrival he heard a man of eminent station accused with much vituperation of saying that nearly the whole of the opposition in the Chamber of Deputies under the constitution of 1848 were in prison or exile. He joined in believing the statement a monstrous exaggeration; but he learned before long that out of a parliament of one hundred and sixty-four deputies, twice elected by constituents who brought to the poll about 117,000 votes, seventy-six had either been thrown into prison or had fled into exile to escape arrest. Among the arrested was Carlo Poerio—"a refined and accomplished gentleman, a copious and eloquent speaker, a respected and blameless character," a Constitutionalist, as that term is understood in England, neither an Absolutist nor a Republican—as eminent a person in his own country, says Mr. Gladstone, as Lord John Russell or Lord Lansdowne in this—a cabinet minister and parliamentary leader under the constitution; apparently enjoying the entire confidence of the King, and consulted by him after his resignation of office. One evening in July, 1849, he was warned by a letter from "One who loves you much," to fly with speed. He refused to do so. The next day, two persons, presented themselves at his door under a false title, obtained entry, and announced to him that he was arrested in virtue of a verbal order of Peccheneda, the prefect of police. He protested in vain: the house was ransacked: he was carried into solitary confinement. He demanded to be examined, and to know the cause of his arrest, within twenty-four hours, according to law, but in vain. On the sixth day he was brought before the Commissary Maddaloni; and a letter, with the seal unbroken, was put into his hands. It was addressed to him, and he was told that it had come under cover to a friend of the Marquis Dragonetti, but that the cover had been opened in mistake by an officer of the police, who happened to have the same name, though a different surname, and who, on perceiving what was within, handed both to the authorities. Poerio was desired to open it, and did open it in the presence of the commissary. The matter of the letter of course was highly treasonable; it announced an invasion by Garibaldi, fixed a conference with Mazzini, and referred to a correspondence with Lord Palmerston, whose name was miserably mangled, who promised to aid a proximate revolution. "I perceived at once," said Poerio, in recapitulating these facts before his judges, "that the handwriting of Dragonetti was vilely imitated, and I said so, remarking that the internal evidence of sheer forgery was higher than any amount of material proof whatever." Poerio had among his papers certain genuine letters of Dragonetti's; they were produced, and compared with this, and the forgery stood confessed. But Poerio was not liberated, according to the law. He was accused, on the information of a low fellow, named Jervolino, of being chief of a Republican sect, and of a conspiracy to murder the King. He demanded to be confronted with his accuser, but was consigned to loathsome dungeons, where he was visited only by agents of the Government, endeavouring to wring from him a confession of guilt by promises of clemency, and to suborn from his fellow-prisoners false witnesses against him. In the February following he was tried before a judge, one Navarro, who was to have been a victim of the pretended society, and who openly declared that all persons charged by the King's Government

ought to be found guilty. Jervolino could answer no questions at this trial; and as Poerio's first witness deposed that Jervolino received twelve ducats a month from the Government, he was allowed to call no more. How the judge demeaned himself may be gathered from what occurred at another trial:—

In two cases it happened to be within the knowledge of the counsel for the prisoners that the perjured witnesses against them did not even know them by sight. In one of these the counsel desired to be allowed to ask the witness to point out the accused persons among the whole number of those charged, who were all sitting together. The Court refused permission. In the other case, the counsel challenged the witness to point out the man of whose proceedings he was speaking. If I am rightly informed, Navarro, whom I have so lately mentioned, affecting not to hear the question, called out to the prisoner, "Stand up, Signor Nisco; the Court has a question to ask you." This was done, and counsel then informed that he might pursue his examination. A laugh of bitter mockery ran through the court."

Poerio was condemned to "twenty-four years of irons." We have seen (in a former extract from Mr. Gladstone's pamphlet) with what horrible literalness he is suffering the sentence; wearing without a moment's release thirty or forty pounds of chain—if death have not come to his release in the impenetrable dungeons of Ischia. But he is not the only sufferer whose fate is individualized. "Settembrini, in a sphere by some degrees narrower, but with a character quite as pure and fair, was tried with Poerio and forty more, and was capitally convicted"—but was spared for a fate much harder; "double irons for life, upon a remote and sea-girt rock—nay, there may even be reason to fear that he is directly subjected to physical torture. The mode of it, which was specified to me upon respectable, though not certain authority, was the thrusting of sharp instruments under the finger nails."

Mr. Gladstone returned to England in February last—recalled, it may be remembered, by the Ministerial crisis. True to his humane resolve, but true, also, to his Conservative habits, he addressed to his friend and ex-colleague, Lord Aberdeen, the first of the two letters now published. That nobleman appears to have urged, unsuccessfully, upon the court of Naples such representations as an Englishman must make. Having thus attempted private remonstrance, Mr. Gladstone felt himself called upon to appeal to the public opinion of the civilized world. Hence this pamphlet, which has already attained its second edition, and created a sensation not to be adequately expressed by any number of editions. Such statements from such a man could not fail to reach the hearts of his countrymen, however thickly quilted with party sympathies. It would have been something to have replenished Gavazzi's quiver with arrows of flame—it is more to have compelled the *Times* to disown a bloodstained client. The narratives that would have been received with distrust from the pen of General Pepe or the lips of Mazzini, are taken, as upon oath, from the over-scrupulous, high-minded Conservative, Gladstone, and his own irrepressible exclamations of horror are repeated by every English tongue. The appearance of his disclosures is opportune. The indignation they excite will not be allowed to expire in epithets of detestation for him who has made his way through the solemnest of oaths, and over the pillage of his capital, to the most perfect absolutism in Europe—who, a fugitive from the troops of Garibaldi, consoles himself with murdering eminent Italians at Ischia—who, like our own "Man of Blood," has

"Eyes that loved to look on torture, but dare not look on war."

The sentiment thus aroused will be directed upon our own Government, and to the liberation of entire Italy. For that purpose the Association of the Friends of Italy has been formed; and we cannot better conclude than with a paragraph or two from their petition to the House of Commons, praying for diplomatic measures to procure the evacuation of Rome:—

"That it is a crime, and a shame, for any people itself enjoying the blessings of freedom, to allow glaring injustice to be done to another people, without trying to put an end to the same, or at least protesting, in the most solemn manner possible, its detestation of the wrong done."

"That it is, besides, in the highest degree, impolitic to persist in this plan of national indifference in the case of a people deserving so nobly of mankind as the Italians do, both from their illustrious services in the past, and by reason of their large capacities for the future—the more especially when the governing power, enabled by foreign arms to crush and oppress this celebrated people, is a power founded on political falsehood and unbounded intellectual and moral tyranny, and one which is even now endeavouring to spread and enshrine such falsehood and such tyranny amongst ourselves."

Tiptree Farm, belonging to Mr. Mechi, was visited on Thursday by a party of eminent persons connected with the agricultural implement department of the Exposition, and others, at the invitation of the owner. Many interesting trials of implements took place; and finally, 150 gentlemen, among whom were Prince Frederick Holstein and Lord Ebrington, partook of a cold collation.

(Continued from page 605).

£6,000,000 worth of warlike stores; a hundred line-of-battle ships afloat or on the stocks; between 20,000 and 30,000 pieces of cannon; 30,000,000 of musket-ball cartridges; 140,000 pikes; 1,200,000 sand-bags ready for use in their fortifications—in short, that they were armed in every point, and ready to enter upon a gigantic scheme of warlike operations to-morrow. Then, England had not to complain of other countries having set her the example for preparing for war; for it was to England that other countries looked for an example. Why, they had shown, in the discussion in the House of Commons the other day, that England and France had been running a race, had been playing a disastrous game of see-saw about these preparations. At one time one sank below the level, and at another time the other. England had been building ships and fortifying her shores, always quoting France, and the preparations making by France, as the reason. And then next session they saw France making fresh preparations, and exhibiting renewed energy, and quoting England as setting her the example. And so it went on. Both had been equally to blame. He did not charge either with being more culpable than the other. But this he did say, that it was a question which it behoved the people of each country to take charge of [loud cheers]. And it was in order to abate the evil that they had met there that day. He had been telling them some home truths with regard to Englishmen. He had heard foreigners say that it was owing to their combative propensities that Englishmen were so energetic—that they were naturally combative—that it was in their heads, and they could not help it—that they must be always trying to subdue some one or other. Well, then, if such were their natural inclinations and propensities, let them, at all events, look them boldly in the face, and see if they could not turn them to some better account than they had hitherto done [hear, hear]. That very energy which they had shown in their evil doings must be brought to bear to abate the evil, and there was a task set before them in that Congress which would employ their courage and their perseverance quite as much as any combats in the field in which they might be engaged. For they would have to encounter slights, and sarcasm, and scorn, and misrepresentation, and slander; and it was as hard to meet those difficulties as to face an enemy in the battle-field. It required courage, and perseverance, and coolness, and dogged endurance to the end. Let them not imagine there was nothing to be done. He thought people did not understand the operation of those standing armaments. He had already alluded to the demoralization of the barrack system. Again and again he had requested his friend Mr. Richard (the secretary) to use his paper, the *Herald of Peace*, and to obtain through some of his correspondents truthful descriptions of the operation of the barrack system. They could scarcely go into any town in the kingdom where barracks were planted without perceiving that the immediate effect of the barracks was to operate as a blight upon the whole surrounding neighbourhood. He had tested it himself by the decreased value of the landed and house property in the immediate neighbourhood of barracks—by the increased number of beer-shops and gin-shops, and places of a still worse description, which always grew up near them [hear, hear]—and by the fact that everything that was moral and respectable, everything that was virtuous and religious, seemed to shrink from the foul and contaminating influence of the barracks [hear, hear]. And, knowing all this, he was asked to fall down and worship a hierarchy whose works and moral influence were exemplified in the way which he had described to be the effect of its residence upon the surrounding neighbourhood; and he was asked to join at public festivities in toasting "The Army" forthwith, as if it were something superior to the rest of the community. He would treat the army and the men in the military service as he would treat all others, precisely according to the individual merits of each [hear, hear]. But before he fell down or bent his knee in homage to them as a body, they should show him some better proof of their moral influence and worth than were to be found in the quarters that surrounded their barracks. So much for the morality of the system. And with regard to the expense, many thought it was no use dinning into the people's ears the fact that these standing armaments tended to impoverish nations in an economical point of view. This, however, was not generally known or admitted in society. Men had so little thought upon the subject that their minds were not impressed with the loss inflicted on the community by its maintaining in idleness an enormous body of men, whose labours might otherwise be productive. The maintenance of this body was the occasion of a double loss—first, those who did labour had to keep those who did not; and next, we were deprived of the labour of those thus maintained, which might otherwise have contributed to the wealth of the country. This was not generally known or thought of. Let them take some of the most distinguished of foreign statesmen—for instance, M. Thiers. M. Thiers, who sneered at political economy, had no sort of notion of the economical effect of keeping up these enormous armies [hear, hear]. He (Mr. Cobden) believed that he thought by increasing the army, you just found so much employment for so many more men, and that he had never looked so far, that he was not capable of looking so far, as to consider whether these men's living in idleness—draining from the country, from the farmers and peasantry of the country, the means with which they would otherwise manure their land and increase its productivity—did not diminish the resources and strength

of the country by abstracting from productive labour those men whom he put into blue coats and lodged in barracks [hear, hear]. He (Mr. Cobden) recollected hearing a noble duke, a leader of the Protectionist party, who made it a grave objection to him that he was agitating a reduction of the army, and said, "What good will that do you, farmers? It will bring home some 20,000 or 30,000 men, whom you will have to keep on the poor-rates" [hear, hear, hear]. But the Duke of Richmond, like M. Thiers, was a leading Protectionist; and depend upon it they ought to be both put to school [cheers]. He wished his excellent friend Miss Martineau would take them in hand [cheers and laughter]. They were puzzled how men could be kept, if not maintained in that state of idleness; yet in this country they had seen 150,000 men discharged from the railway works within a year or two, and in the Parliamentary returns of the very same period it was shown there had been simultaneously a considerable diminution in the number of able-bodied paupers, the labourers discharged having found their way into society and got employment elsewhere. They need not therefore be alarmed on this head. If they had fewer soldiers, and these men put on smockfrocks or fustian jackets, they might depend upon it such able-bodied men could keep themselves; and, moreover, by the very process of discharging them from their work a saving of expenditure was obtained which permitted of a reduction of those burdens and taxes which impeded the operations of commerce, and prevented the employment of the people [hear, hear]. Now these were the principles and truths which they had to propagate to the world. That was their task, and it was not an easy one. They had only just begun it; but if all society were as strongly imbued as he was with the conviction of the loss to the people in material comforts, arising from this system of waste and extravagance, it could not last a twelvemonth. Apart from the higher motives and sanctions—which he said were always in harmony with the deductions of true science—if men did but understand the impossibility of getting relief from their burdens whilst that system lasted, that system out of which their sufferings sprung would itself soon follow the change in their opinions. When he visited such a place as Portsmouth, or Plymouth, his feelings were probably as opposite as possible to those which influenced many of his countrymen when they saw those great arsenals. When he beheld gigantic constructions on the stocks, and heard the hammers resounding as they were adding to their number, his feeling was one of pain and sorrow and humiliation, at the immense amount of waste of the gifts of nature incurred in constructing what he hoped might never be called into use. He saw in all this but weakness and decay, whilst others said, "Here is the 'Queen,' of one hundred and sixteen guns, I should like to see the Frenchman that would dare to come and touch her." And he was answered, that they wanted England to disarm, in order that she might be at the mercy of other countries; for their movement was not natural or universal [cheers]. What they wanted England to do they wanted all the world to do, and he was not sure that other countries would not have to set us an example. But their first work was to persuade the world that something was practicable in the matter; and he, for one, saw no impracticability in doing anything consonant to our interest, and not contrary to the law of God. He wished, then, that we would be content to meddle less with wars that happened to go on abroad, though he knew that the Peace Society was taunted with indifference to the progress of freedom. He wanted historical evidence that standing armies were ever favourable to the promotion of liberty; that they had ever achieved liberty for any country. He charged his hearers to go on as they had begun, if they wished to see progress made in the House of Commons, or in any other Chamber in the world. These were times when they enjoyed a better chance of success than heretofore. Nations were beginning to look great evils in the face, and to cease to bow down to hoary abuses. They could now look upon intemperance—a vice which they knew to be as old as the flood—and determine to put an end to it [cheers]. If they, therefore, did in this question as in others, they would only be acting in harmony with the spirit of the age. If they showed the evils, moral and material, which were caused by war, if they proved how it acted upon families, how it demoralized and impoverished the community, there were those among them who would live to see a total change in the opinions of men, and when that change came, down would go the system which the previously mistaken opinion had upheld. [Mr. Cobden resumed his seat amidst loud and long-continued cheers.]

M. DE POMPEY, of Paris, then addressed the meeting in the French language.

Mr. EWART, M.P., who was very cordially received, then addressed the meeting in support of the resolution. This immense gathering showed that the occasion had presented a favourable opportunity for the interchange of opinions and sentiments of different nations, and it also proved that in the event of a war being threatened they should be able to effect a powerful organization, which might extinguish the spark before it could rise into a flame [loud cheers]. In allusion to the moral benefits which had arisen from the Crystal Palace, the hon. gentleman observed that the Prince who led such an army of workmen as were employed in the construction of that building was capable of effecting a greater conquest than ever was achieved by any army that ever trod down the principles of peace with the iron hoof of war, from the time of Alexander to the present day [cheers]. It had been observed that the organ of combativeness was largely developed in the English people, but to this remark he would add

that, according to the principles of phrenology, they must endeavour to counteract the preponderance of one organ by cultivating the development of another—viz., the organ of benevolence [hear, hear]. He thought that this great commercial nation—the greatest in the world—ought to commence this movement for general disarmament, and, in his opinion, it would be to the eternal honour of the Anglo-Saxon race if they displayed the peaceful olive branch of Minerva, in order to put down war [loud cheers]. The hon. gentleman went on to observe that he represented a deputation from Liverpool, who begged that means might be taken to promote the extension of the freedom of trade and the encouragement of international commerce by means of an Ocean Penny Postage, as recommended by his friend Elihu Burritt. [The mention of Mr. Burritt's name elicited much applause.] It might be Utopian, visionary, ideal—but he firmly believed that the day would come when the system of an Ocean Penny Postage would be established. In conclusion, Mr. Ewart congratulated the Congress on the progress their cause had made.

Mr. MACGREGOR, M.P. for Glasgow, who was also very warmly received, said that one of the great objects which the Congress had in view was to convince people that there was no advantage to be gained by keeping up standing armies. Public liberty was cramped, not preserved, by such a system. It was long since he had given up reading romances; but he had recently been reading a romance by M. Thiers, which that gentleman called a "history" [laughter], and in that romance M. Thiers, fond as he was of standing armies, admitted that public liberty in France had been cut down when the first standing army was established by Charles II., and had been kept down by the standing armies of his successors [cheers]. Their eyes required to be opened to the evil consequences of rewarding only the destroyers of mankind. The Duke of Marlborough's successor not only enjoyed Blenheim, but he took between £4,000 and £5,000 a year, or the postage of nearly 8,000,000 letters, out of the Post-office. How much better might such public rewards be employed. America did without a standing army. At least, her standing army was so small as to be only like a drop to the ocean compared with that of England. Having given a history of the national debt, the hon. gentleman proceeded to say that the addition to the national debt, in consequence of the battle of Waterloo, had been so great that the whole of the duty on tea received by the Exchequer since the year 1815 had been swallowed up by the payment of the interest on that addition; and what had been the object and the aim of that battle of Waterloo? Why, the overthrow of Napoleon and his dynasty—the utter subversion of himself and his family. And what had been the result? [hear, hear.] Why, that the legitimate successor of Napoleon, his legitimate heir, was now the sovereign of France. Let them call him the President, or whatever other name they pleased, but he was the first man—he was the sovereign, in short—of France [loud cheers]. And it was for that that Englishmen were saddled with such an addition to their national debt [hear, hear]. Having stated the vast numbers of the standing armies of Europe, the honourable gentleman said that he considered the institution of the National Guard of France to be a very bad one. It was an institution full of mischief, for it left the women and children to do the work whilst the men were playing at soldiers [hear, hear]. He hoped much from the efforts of the people themselves upon the subject of peace. The principles of peace were, he rejoiced to say, spreading fast. But it lay with the people themselves entirely to bring them into active operation. They should exert themselves strongly in the cause before they could hope to produce any effect upon their rulers. It was for the people to do the work. It was with them the decision of the question lay. There would soon be a general election [cheers], and it was for the electors, and he wished their numbers were greater [cheers], to send to Parliament only such men as would pledge themselves to advance the principles of peace.

The resolution was supported by Don JOSE SAGUNDO FLORES, professor of political economy in Madrid, who read a lengthened paper in its support, but was obliged to curtail it in compliance with the rules of the Congress limiting the speeches of each member. He spoke in the French language.

The resolution was then put from the chair, and carried unanimously.

The SECRETARY said that the fourth resolution, having reference to loans, would be postponed until to-morrow, as they expected a gentleman, who was one of the first financiers in Europe, to address them upon the subject. They would, therefore, proceed to the fifth, which was as follows:—

That this Congress, believing that the intervention, by threat or actual violence, of one country in the internal politics of another, is a frequent cause of bitter and desolating wars, maintains that the right of every state to regulate its own affairs should be held absolute and inviolate.

Before the resolution was put, however, the sitting was suspended for a few minutes for the sake of rest. The interval was occupied by conversation, and the indulgence in several rounds of cheering for the cause of Peace.

At this stage of the proceedings M. GIRARDIN, of *La Presse*, entered suddenly, was introduced by Mr. Cobden, and tremendously cheered by the meeting. He said, "He was not a soldier, but a deserter, having deserted from the National Assembly, that he might present himself to this Congress, in the midst of which he was delighted to find himself. He thanked them for their reception, very enthusiastically."

Mr. HENRY VINCENT was called upon to move

the fifth resolution, which is given above. He was received with great applause; and commenced by congratulating the assembly on its imposing appearance, the logical order and the perfect unanimity of its proceedings. He had no doubt they would affirm with earnestness and continued unanimity the rights of individual nations to independence [great cheering]—that the violation of that independence is an outrage upon Christian feeling, and rebellion against the best tendencies of modern civilization. He would not stop to inquire how nationalities arose, from geographical and physiological, political and religious diversities. But he would illustrate the mutual relation of nations by that of families—every home sacred from invasion; if disputes arose, there being deputies ready to plead, and magistrates to decide [hear, hear]. Why should it not be so with the countries of Europe, whether the noble people of Hungary [loud cheers], or the equally noble and unfortunate people of Italy? [renewed and prolonged applause.] Though ministers of religion (he proceeded to say) yet dare to hold the red flag in one hand, and the New Testament in the other, and to baptize with the sanctity of the gospel of peace, the demon-god of war, whose footsteps through the world are tracked with blood [applause], we are resolved to rally the people beneath its white flag; and though many are still content to talk by their firesides of abstract truths, applicable to no circumstance, and say, "Them's the principles for me [loud laughter], but the time has not come yet," we say, "The time has come, the time is now!" [loud and continued cheering.] We English are not the people to give lessons to others against military intervention. We have not only the bump of combativeness, as we have been told, but another protuberance—which I may call the organ of continual meddlesomeness [laughter and cheers]. Events will teach the lesson and enforce the principle we hold out to-day. Let it not be supposed that the end of the chapter of 1848 has come [hear, hear]. Though Hungary has fallen by brute force, she shall rise again by the force of virtue and right [loud applause]—and Rome, though she, too, has fallen by the arms of France, her sons wear on their face the ineffaceable impress of the ancient dignity, and on the confines of the Austrian department in the Great Exhibition, behold Italy triumphs in the elaborated sculpture and painted loveliness of her works [great cheering]. Brute force is a power that decays, a glory that wanes—the elements of peace are the immortalities [renewed cheers]. I look to the education of the people, the imbuing of the minds of the honest working men of England and of France—aye, of France, who will be represented here to-morrow by fifteen working men of Paris [loud cheers]—with the principles of the gospel, to secure both liberty and peace. I hope for this, I believe in it, because God has said, "Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free!"

Dr. BEAUMONT (Wesleyan Minister), in seconding the resolution, took up the epithet demon as applied to war, and said that truly its name was legion, and ministers of the gospel of peace should seek to exorcise the fiend. The demon was a wholesale destroyer of the harvests and the human frames in rearing which God displayed infinite wisdom and goodness—careless of the food of nations, careless of life and beauty, of body and soul [hear, hear]. Yet this desolating demon was to be overcome by the power of truth and love—of truth, that vibrated from the brain to the tongue; of love, that lay in the great human heart, like latent heat, according to the discovery of Dr. Black, and which this Congress developed and directed. The rev. gentleman concluded by telling that in a war of the fourth century, which the Picts and Scots were waging against the Welsh, Bishop Gregory and a body of priests were in the Welsh army. The bishop desired the forces at a certain period to shout out from their various positions the word "Hallelujah." They did so—the Picts and Scots were panic-stricken, and so lost the battle, which was consequently called "Victoria Alleluetia,"—a title which he there and then conferred on the prospective victory of the Peace Society [great laughter and cheering].

M. GARNIER, the French secretary, next addressed the Congress in his native tongue, remarking, that the intervention of one country in the affairs of another had been, in past times, a constant source of wars, and that if, in the future, any arose, they would arise out of the same cause. The various motives for this interference he next explained and condemned, asserting, that in some cases the object was simply to show authority, and in others to maintain fixed what naturally must ever be oscillating—the "balance of power." This, he argued, was first one thing, then another; different before and since Napoleon's wars; at one time requiring Belgium to be joined to Holland, and a few years after, wanting it to be separated again. He then combated the notion, that to propagate our own notions, and diffuse our own opinions, we might make war. We had no right whatever even to propagate truth by force. All that we had to do was to set a good example, and trust that other people would follow it. M. Garnier made some other observations, throughout all of which he was loudly cheered.

Mr. CORDEN, with various complimentary references to M. Garnier, gave, amid much applause, a running translation of that gentleman's speech, from notes which he had taken during its delivery.

The resolution was then put, and carried unanimously. The sixth resolution, like the fourth, was postponed; and the Rev. J. BURNET moved the seventh, that—

This Congress expresses its strong abhorrence of the system of aggression and violence practised by civilized nations upon aboriginal and uncivilized tribes, as leading to incessant and

exterminating wars, eminently unfavourable to the true progress of religion, civilization, and commerce.

Before addressing himself to the resolution, Mr. Burnet remarked that he had observed with regret, at various peace meetings, that the names or the presence even of generals and other warriors who had been engaged in wars that were regarded as defensive of country and liberty, were received with applause. He knew that this was natural, that the feelings of our common humanity were excited—but reason and conviction should restrain the excitement. He would have them never hear an allusion to a battle, wherever or for whatsoever fought, but with the silence of solemn sadness. Then turning to his special topic, he spoke in graphic terms of the four or five millions of so-called barbarians outlying beyond the bounds of civilization—their hunting grounds or pasture lands, their fishing coasts and empty harbours, seldom visited by traveller or vessel. Upon such as these, adventurers had descended, broken in upon their peaceful pursuits, driven them into the interior of their native domains, there to perish of hunger, or at the hands of those whom they must dispossess to live—and this often at England's expense. When the people were deprived of their lands, their cattle had not the sense to lay down and die till the ground was bare—so the cattle were seized, or made a pretext for summoning the native chiefs, surrounding them with horse and foot, and exacting further concessions of territory. A British officer had thus summoned some aboriginal chiefs, and was demanding the restoration of stolen cattle. The roads were soft from recent rains; and the chief pointed out that every hoof-mark was leading from his territory into the colony. That was a fact, and it was a specimen of whole histories. He (Mr. Burnet) denied that it was a justification for dispossessing barbarous tribes of their native plains and coasts, that they could be put to a better use. The man who should plant himself in his (Mr. Burnet's) garden, and build a palace there, and tell him that that was a better use to make of it than growing a few gooseberry bushes, would be quite as much a thief as if he had put his hand into his pocket and robbed him after the most civilized fashion—yet that was just what had been done in colonization. Avoiding any infringement of the sixth regulation of the Congress, which prohibits political allusion, the speaker showed the application of these principles to our history in South Africa, India, and America. The very last thing that deserved a meed of praise was the charge of a line of British cavalry arrayed against a parcel of poor Kafirs or Hottentots [hear, hear, and cheers]. A general who could form such a line against men almost naked—who could make these deadly preparations, and call forth the panoply of war to increase them—was a general in name, and was paid for his work out of the people's pockets; but such a man had no poetry, no humanity, and no sense of honour in his soul. Oh for the poet, master of his genius, to portray it as it merited. It was no use telling him the natives came down upon us—it was we who went down upon them; and it was no good telling him that we could not colonize without invasion and armed protection—then let us not colonize at all. (Mr. Burnet resumed his seat amidst a continuance of the applause which had followed every sentiment of his speech.)

The Rev. FREDERICK CROWE, of Guatemala, Central America, seconded the resolution. He said he was qualified and entitled by experience to speak of military service. In consequence of a neglected early education, and of dissipated habits, he had, at the age of seventeen, enlisted in the British Auxiliary Legion, and had gone to Spain. The very first night that he spent among his comrades his pockets were picked, and he could bear ample testimony to the demoralizing habits of the barracks. He then went as an emigrant to Central America, and at Belize he became a missionary schoolmaster. For refusing to serve as a militiaman he was imprisoned, lectured by the colonel on parade, and threatened that he should stand with his nose against a stone wall by way of reducing his obstinacy, but he had held out. It ought to be known that the West India black regiments were recruited from those miserable negroes, who were taken from the slavers captured by British vessels on the middle passage; and those "liberated" blacks thereby only exchanged one sort of slavery for another; for they were rarely even permitted to marry, but encouraged to live in a state of the most horrible demoralization.

The Rev. HENRY GARNETT was introduced by Mr. Joseph Sturge, as not only a negro, but an escaped slave, and addressed the Conference in support of the resolution. He said that he belonged to a class whose entire hope lay in the adoption of peace principles; for, wherever countries had been colonized by powerful and enlightened people, the aborigines had been either exterminated or enslaved [hear, hear]. Even within the last few days he had seen a missionary pamphlet, in which the necessity of an army to support the missionaries on the coast of Africa was urged with all the power of the writer. He could not help asking himself, upon reading it, what sort of a religion, what sort of Christianity was that which required to be enforced at the point of the bayonet? [loud cheers.]

M. GIRARDIN next addressed the Congress; and whilst supporting the principle of the resolution, proposed a verbal amendment, which he thought would add force to its expression. His proposition was, to alter the two words "civilized" and "uncivilized," and to say "strong" nations and "weaker" tribes; and he grounded the suggestion on his belief that the uncivilized party was that which made the attack upon the other—the civilized, that which was unoffending. He said he considered

no power or nation uncivilized that was not warlike, and that, therefore, they had affixed the wrong terms to the wrong sides [cheers]. The more he (M. Girardin) looked at the preparations for war, the more was he perplexed, for the result was that such preparations led to financial embarrassment and ruin. The United States, he considered, had set an example to this country by virtually keeping up no standing army; and he was of opinion that the general prosperity of that nation might be traced to the fact that they had not wasted their resources in keeping up institutions which they could advantageously dispense with [cheers].

Mr. CORDEN seconded M. Girardin's amendment, and translated his address.

The proposition was immediately approved, but referred to the committee.

Mr. RICHARD announced that Mr. Bright had been there that day to show his adhesion to the Congress, but that, having recently sustained a severe domestic affliction, he was unwilling to speak.

Mr. CORDEN added, that Mr. Garth Marshall, M.P. for Leeds, would have been there that day, but for a similar reason.

The second day's sitting then terminated.

THIRD DAY'S SITTING.

The third and last sitting of the Congress was opened precisely at eleven o'clock; Sir D. Brewster again taking the chair.

Mr. RICHARD indicated the order of business for the day, and stated that they had that morning received a letter of sympathy and approval from the Archbishop of Dublin; and the following from M. Victor Hugo, whose absence was a great disappointment, but it was caused by important engagements, which had also prevented him from writing, as he had intended, an address to the Congress:—

From the National Assembly,
July 18, 1851.

SIR,—I write to you in the midst of our arduous struggles; imperative public duties retain me in Paris. You know what they are, and you will understand, certainly, why I cannot quit my post, at such a moment, even to join you.

If we owe a debt to ideas, we owe the first debt to our country. It is for my country I am combating now.

It is also for ideas; for all ideas and all progress tend towards the one great fact which will invade the entire civilized world through the Republic. The Republic, which will bring forth the United States of Europe, a universal federation, and, consequently, universal Peace. Our present struggles are fruitful; they will be productive of future peace.

Allow me to terminate with this word; a word which is in my heart, and in yours, all of you; and in the heart of France too:—

"Glory and Happiness to free England."

Express my regret to all our friends of the Peace Congress, and receive the fraternal expression of my cordiality.

(Signed),

VICTOR HUGO.

The reading of this note was interrupted and followed by hearty applause.

Fifteen workmen of Paris, headed by Mr. Henry Vincent, entered the Hall at this juncture, and ascended the platform, amidst loud applause. Mr. VINCENT then took the stand, read over their names, and the trade represented by each, and proposed three cheers for the workmen of France, which were very heartily given.

The sixth resolution, which had been referred for verbal amendment to the committee, was then read, with the alteration suggested by M. Girardin, and adopted.

C. HINDLEY, Esq., M.P., was unwilling, after the intimation received from their Secretary of the number of speakers inscribed for the day, to occupy a moment's attention, but must briefly testify that he had lost none of his deep devotion to the cause. He contrasted this splendid gathering with the first London Peace Convention, over which he had the honour to preside; and rejoiced in the rapid progress of so beneficent a cause [cheers].

It was then announced that one of the Paris workmen wished to address the Conference, and M. PIERRE VINAARD, a working engraver, read with much vivacity a speech in his native tongue. From the translation afterwards given by Mr. J. S. Buckingham, it appeared that he addressed those present as citizens of the world, and members of one great family. He offered in his own name, and in those of his fellow-workmen, their most sincere thanks for the warm reception they had just obtained from them. If war was an evil generally, it was a greater one to the labouring classes than any other, because they were those called on to bear the burden of the cost of war, and were also put in the front rank of battle to sustain the first fire. God had given them being in order to increase life, but by war they tried to destroy it. They had skill given them by God in order to create enjoyments and advantages to themselves and others; but by becoming soldiers they were made tools of destruction to others. War was therefore a great curse, and they joined cheerfully with them in getting rid of this evil by propagating peace. In arriving at London they had been particularly struck with its appearance. There were no cannons or bristling bayonets, no fortresses or barricades and gates to prevent their free ingress or egress. Instead of soldiers in their streets, he only saw quiet citizens. He was of opinion that England, in this respect, set an example to the world; that before long, soldiers would become less and less in number, and men become more skilled in peaceful arts for their mutual support. In conclusion, he thanked them again for having received him and his fellows in the bonds of fraternity.

Dr. KREUTZNACH, of Frankfort-on-the-Maine, was next introduced by Mr. Richard, as having rendered important aid at the last Congress, and being one of the most earnest and successful friends of the cause in Germany. The learned doctor then proceeded to read a speech, of which the following is a slightly abridged report:—

When I venture upon addressing to this imposing assembly a few words in English, it is only because I

wish to explain to British ears the thoughts of thousands of my countrymen about a memorable event of British origin. I must therefore request you not to mind the solecisms of my expressions, but to accept with kindness and benevolence the true feelings of a German heart. I come from the beautiful banks of the Rhine, and I saw with astonishment a new migration of nations, the greatest that has happened since the time of the Crusades. The Industrial Exhibition is not limited by the gates of Hyde-park, not even by the white cliffs of Albion—its effects extend far over the channel and over the ocean. My countrymen converse with admiration about this great work of human wisdom, conducted by the will of the Almighty. The tower of Babel was an attempt against the will of God, and it was destroyed: its only consequence was the confusion of languages. To the Crystal Palace all nations gather, again to learn that diversity of language and manners is no more an obstacle to the unity of mankind. We are proud that a countryman of ours, a man whom we love—not because he is a prince, but because he gives to your great country a favourable image of the fine qualities and accomplishments of a well-minded German youth—that the Consort of your beloved Queen has so much encouraged that immortal work. Father Rhine and Father Thames pour their waters in the same ocean; so may the two nations—so may all nations pour out their material and intellectual abundances into one ocean of universal peace and welfare. Gentlemen, I am very happy to state that the Peace movement has lately made great progress in Germany. That country has, more than any other, been a sufferer from armed exploits. A chivalric desire for glory cannot shut our eyes to the tranquil and permanent blessings of peace. In olden times the worship of God could not be conducted without the slaughtering of beasts; in modern times, the affairs of nations, so we are told, cannot be settled without wholesale slaughter of man; but the better comprehension of Christianity may destroy the second Moloch as it once destroyed the first. 150 years ago you sent to us from Great Britain a great warrior and conqueror, to stand by our side in a dangerous war. Marlborough and the battle of Blenheim are forgotten; but you have sent to us another set of conquerors, who continue to this day to be familiar names with the cultivated party of my countrymen [hear]. Shakspeare, Milton, William Penn, Franklin, Wilberforce, and many others, have splendidly unfolded over the German land the glorious banner of British, of European, of universal civilization. These are the fellow-conquerors we like most. Our great Goethe, our high-minded Schiller, they have, not even in Germany, found so clever, so able, so profound an interpreter as that distinguished member of our society, the celebrated Carlyle. Gentlemen, I am here surrounded by conquerors of that kind, and I feel myself much more honoured by such a neighbourhood, than if I had got a place at an imperial table at the side of Paskiewitch and Radetzky. Now, as I have told you, the cause of the Peace Society makes great progress in Germany. The first outbreak of sarcasm and malignity has ceased to operate; distinguished men of all denomination, merchants of wealthy importance, diligent men of the labouring classes, first-rate talents in literature and science, have declared their resolution to co-operate with your Congress. I dare say, gentlemen, that the necessity of peace is nowhere so urgent as in Germany. Our soldiers are quite corrupted by the flattery of kings and princes, the flattery of the official press, flattery even from the pulpit. Every day you may hear it uttered, as an undoubted truth, that soldiers are the best part of the population, that they are the true representatives of popular feelings, the best defenders of civilization. Sheltered by so mighty a sanction, their garrisons are swarming through quiet streets, corrupting the morality of the lower classes, and still persuaded that their vocation is a much higher one than that of the labourer or the schoolmaster. In the province of Anglen, the same from which your ancestors sprung, an order was issued that every citizen who meets an officer in the streets must take off his hat, and keep it for a few moments close by his side. That order was issued not five centuries ago, in the time of Gesler and William Tell, but six weeks ago, in the heart of European civilization. I am sorry to state, that our most powerful military government has, by main force, shut the doors of the first peace society established in Germany; but so well formed is the German mind, that so unfair and unjust a proceeding has mightily contributed to promote the Peace movement. I am still more sorry to confess, that the holy cause of Peace has not yet got, in Germany, such powerful assistance from the pulpit as it ought to have, and as it seems to have in England and America. The age is fast approaching when people will learn that your maxim, "Love your neighbour as yourself," is not only a maxim of ideal virtue, but must find its way even into the science of government.

The first resolution of the day, though the fourth in the programme, was then moved by CHARLES GILPIN, Esq. It was as follows:—

This Congress regarding the system of negotiating loans for the prosecution of war, or the maintenance of warlike armaments, as immoral in principle and disastrous in operation, renews its emphatic condemnation of all such loans.

He said he thought he must have been born in Utopia, for all his best aspirations, from his youth up, had been stigmatized as such. But the Utopia of one age was the experience of the next [cheers]—yea, the Utopia of one year was the experience of the next. To advert once more to that magnificent structure, whose iron pillars and girders so well symbolized the strength, and whose crystal roof so aptly typified the beauty of their principles—the Utopia of January was the experience of May [much applause]. In introducing the subject of war loans, he was aware that he trod on delicate ground; and that to carry out to their legitimate and Christian extent the principles he was about to propound would involve the conduct of many, if not all of them—for they were all prone to keep a corporate conscience, or to do that with the multitude which they dare not do singly. Thus it was that honourable men, really honourable men, saw nothing shameful in advancing money for sharpening the words of tyrants, and forging new fetters for the people [hear, hear]. If he wanted to get rid of a man, and hired an assassin to remove him, was not he as guilty as the actual murderer? or if he applied to Mr. Richard—to take the most unlikely of men

—to lend him money to bribe the bravo, would not he, too, be responsible? And was not he guilty in the eyes of God—aye, and in the sight of an advancing civilization—who furnished the sinews of war, the hire of the hordes of the North, who trampled out the altar fires of Hungarian liberty, and built gallows for her bravest sons? [great cheering.] Yet when the Autocrat of the North came to this country asking for a loan to make railways—though Mr. Cobden had the unhappiness to differ from him in opinion—he got it, and shame on certain great houses in this city that he did! [cheers.] He (Mr. Gilpin) was engaged in getting up the meeting at the London Tavern, at which Mr. Cobden denounced that loan; and he was obliged to take the chair himself, for one after another declined, and even one city gentleman, a known friend to this cause, said, "Really, the affair is so blown upon, it would affect my credit." Shall we, the speaker asked, unhesitatingly take the hand of the man whose money has helped to destroy a nation's independence, to immerse her patriots in an eastern dungeon, and, perhaps, to hire an assassin to strike at the life of a Kosuth? [applause.] The man who advanced or contributed to the loan was, in his judgment, concerned in all this iniquity [hear, hear]. He was as sure as that there was a Judge above who estimated human conduct by other standards than that of a quarter per cent., that an earthly tribunal, that of enlightened public sentiment, would ere long be erected, and its verdicts submitted to by rulers and capitalists. Who would not exclaim—

"Hasten, Great Father, that blest consummation,
When nation no more shall lift sword against nation,
When war shall no more be the Christian's vocation,
But the sword shall be shivered, and broken the bow!"

EDWARD MIALL, Esq., rose to second the resolution, and was received with loud and continued cheers. He said:—As our Secretary has told us, time cannot be stretched, therefore our speeches must be contracted. I wish, in supporting this resolution, to be sensible of all that has gone before, and all that is to follow; and unless I discard introductory remarks, my speech will resemble what is said of ladies' letters—that the purport of the whole is in the postscript. The morality of loans for the purpose of war is the topic assigned to me. It naturally divides itself into two parts—perfectly distinct and easy to be remembered—the borrower and the lender. I think it a question well worthy of serious and minute investigation, although not to be determined at this Congress, whether national loans, for any purpose whatever, can be considered justifiable [hear, hear]. There is this peculiarity attaching to them, that they who immediately expend the money are not those persons who ultimately pay the money [hear, hear]. I regard it as unjust in one generation to mortgage the industry of generations to come [cheers]. I do so because I thoroughly believe in that principle of the British constitution—alas, but very imperfectly carried out at present—that no man ought to be taxed except with his own consent, or by the consent of his representatives [cheers]. Now, we cannot consult posterity [a laugh]—and it is obviously a hard thing to come into this world of ours, where there are troubles enough ready to seize hold upon one, to find that our powers of resistance have been drawn upon by our remote predecessors. Even, therefore, in matters which can be regarded as necessary and beneficial to posterity, inasmuch as posterity cannot be consulted, I do not believe that it is right in any body of men to take upon them to draw a bill payable by the generations to come after us. But if there be any question upon this point, there can be none when the object for which the money is to be expended, is one involving not the prosperity of nations, but the destruction of their resources. I know it is said that if posterity is to come into existence at all, it is sometimes necessary to wage defensive war. I do believe that in assigning a judgment as to whether a war be necessary or unnecessary, if posterity could be consulted, they having to pay the ultimate expenses, would have a far different opinion upon the question from those who have little of the expense to bear. If we in this day, with our advanced intelligence, and our unhappy experience, if we had been consulted, or could have been consulted, about undertaking the war against our American colonists, or the long wars undertaken in order to reseat the Bourbons upon the throne of France—wars which together have cost about five hundred millions of pounds—I venture to say that we should come to a very unanimous conclusion, and be able to express it in both Houses of Parliament, that such wars were altogether unnecessary [cheers]. What enlightens us? The fact that we have to pay for them [laughter and cheers]. If only we could make each generation pay for its own wars—if wars were never carried on upon credit—if only the cash had to come out of the pocket before the operations of war could commence—I think the judgment of Parliament would be very different from what it is, as to what constitutes the necessity of international war [cheers]. I come now to the lender—usually the great capitalists of a country. I am not going to indulge in absurd denunciations of capitalists. I regard them as occupying an appointed sphere, and having a proper use. I believe a very large number of those who hurl indiscriminate abuse at their heads would be glad to be in their places [laughter]. Capital has been described as condensed labour. The capitalist adjusts the application of that condensed labour to some particular object. His power is immense—his usefulness might be immense too. His responsibility is consequently great. Of all classes his is the last that should be exempted from moral laws [cheers]. Their operations so greatly affect the well-being of society that more than any other they

should be exactly scrupulous not to trespass beyond the limits of those rules prescribed by morality and religion. And yet the common feeling is that, in regard to the spending or lending of money, those principles ought not to be consulted. It is useless for us to find fault with the capitalists—even those of them who negotiate war loans, and are, therefore, the principal means of continuing war. They do but act upon the common sentiment of society, for who does not receive them with open arms, or feel ashamed of tendering to them the intimacies of friendship? We have not to fling tirades at the heads of capitalists, as such, but to educate society up to our mark [loud cheers]. This is the only way by which we can hope to accomplish the object we have in view. People ask, or will ask, how is it possible that a few men meeting in Exeter Hall can reach the capitalists of Europe, and affect their operations, or prevent them from sustaining war? I say we are proceeding precisely as that man would proceed who, entering the chamber of a patient prostrate beneath the power of a contagious fever, and finding the window fastened down, should dash his fist through the glass to let in the fresh air [cheers]. We cannot, it may be, accomplish much—we don't believe that what we do will accomplish everything. But we are certain of this—that the result at which we are aiming cannot be finally reached until we have made a pure atmosphere of opinion [applause]. I, for one, have the most implicit faith in the power of that atmosphere to ameliorate the condition of humanity [renewed cheering]. I, for one, believe that whilst we are adopting in physical disease those milder methods which are prescribed by Nature—while we are getting beyond that ignorance which once sanctioned the maxim that nothing was so good a curative for the body as bleeding and warm water [laughter]—whilst we are allowing Nature to rectify herself, or, rather, are content to assist her in performing her own work—so in the moral world there is a great deal to be accomplished of which your practical men know very little. As by underground draining, subsoiling, and other processes of that nature, the wholesomeness of the atmosphere may be promoted, so things are gradually telling, not upon the main disease, perhaps, but upon the constitution of humanity itself [hear]. Mankind is growing healthier—and as it grows healthier, will be able to throw off the diseases now hidden in its blood [renewed cheers]. Why, what got rid of witch-burning? [laughter.] An improved public opinion. What got rid of persecution for conscience sake? An improved public opinion. What got rid of duelling in this country, to a great extent? Not law, not judicial proceedings, but an improved public opinion. What will put down military establishments and prevent international wars? An improved public opinion [cheers]—and in creating that improved public opinion we are now practically engaged [renewed and prolonged applause].

SAMUEL GURNEY, Esq., on rising to support the resolution, was loudly cheered. He thanked them for that reception, for he was one of those guilty capitalists [a laugh] who was interested in the funding system of this country, and although he fully concurred in the terms of the resolution, he was not prepared to agree in all that had been said upon it. He heartily approved of the motion which the hon. member (Mr. Cobden) had lately made in the House of Commons, with a view to cut down the army and navy estimates to the extent of ten millions sterling; and in his (Mr. Gurney's) opinion, if the Legislature were governed by a Christian spirit, that motion would have been carried. He fully coincided in the opinions which had been expressed respecting the consequences arising from the National Debt, for he felt that an interest which amounted to nearly £30,000,000 a year must operate as a check upon our national advancement, and as an obstacle to the carrying out of free-trade in all its perfection. Mr. Gurney then proceeded to expatiate upon the evils of war, and that safety could be better ensured by the practice of peace and trust in Divine protection than by the maintenance of an armed force.

Mr. MIALL was permitted by the Chairman to say a few words in explanation of his former remarks, which Mr. Gurney appeared to have misunderstood. He did not say, or mean to say, that because it was unjustifiable to contract loans it was right to repudiate them. He believed that would be infinitely more mischievous than to pay them.

Mr. COBDEN said he was glad to find their friend Mr. Gurney giving his emphatic approval to the terms of the resolution. Circumstances of course rendered it quite impossible for him (Mr. Gurney) to enter into any details upon the subject, and the same considerations would prevent him (Mr. Cobden) from going into the question. There was, however, a prospect of a loan (if they might judge from public rumour) being required from this country by a Government which was at this moment violating every one of those principles on which this Congress was based—a Government which was maintaining an army at so enormous an expense, that the country was doomed to bankruptcy. The army of that country was spread over almost the whole face of Europe—from the extremity of Italy to Hamburg, where the troops were openly insulting the inhabitants. As he (Mr. Cobden) felt himself precluded at present from "showing up" the financial condition of that country, and warning the people of England against the bankruptcy which threatened it, he would no longer dwell upon the subject, but he made this stipulation with the secretary, that if an application for the loan to which he had referred should be advertised at the old place, the London Tavern, he should summon a public meeting; and if he (Mr. Cobden) should be within the borders of England, no matter where, he would give his attendance on the occasion, for the purpose of raising his protest against such a proceeding, and expressing his want of faith in any transactions with the Austrian Government, and the inevitable consequences

that must ensue from negotiating a loan to that Government [cheers].

J. SILK BUCKINGHAM briefly supported the resolution. He stated that the wars which Mr. Miall had mentioned as costing five hundred millions of pounds, had probably cost three or four times that sum; by showing what was involved in that expenditure—the destruction of the means of life and the products of industry—and at the same time the utter futility of those wars to accomplish their original objects, he forcibly represented the wickedness and mischief of the entire system.

M. JULES AVIGDON, banker, of Nice, supported the resolution; which was then put and carried.

M. DE CORMENIN, of Paris, moved the following practical resolution, which was not in the programme:—

The Congress recommends the members of Peace Societies in all constitutional countries to use their influence in returning to their respective Parliaments representatives who are friends of peace, who will be prepared to support by their votes measures for the diminution of the number of men employed in, and the amount of money expended for, war purposes.

The following is a translation of his address:—

When I represent to myself this institution of the Peace Congress, in its most comprehensive form, and consider its elevated objects and aim, I perceive that we are all tending, by one and the same common effort, to the abolition of the violent death of men; to the abolition of death against nature: and I reduce the cases of violent deaths, that is, of unnatural deaths, to four principal heads; viz., violent death by the cannon and its accessories; violent death by the pistol and its accessories; violent death by the poignard and its accessories; and violent death by the scaffold and its accessories. Thus, it is towards the abolition of these four kinds of death that we are tending, and by the following means: the abolition of violent death by the cannon and its accessories, by the abolition of war; the abolition of violent death by the pistol and its accessories, by the abolition of duelling; the abolition, at least the diminution, of violent death by the poignard and its accessories, by the abolition of crime, so far as we hope we may be able to bring it about by a good religious and moral education, and by the amelioration of the condition of the people; lastly, the abolition of violent death by the scaffold and its accessories, by the abolition of the extreme penalty, and by a reform of the criminal code. Now this is to say that we tend, and that we ought all to tend with might and main, to the suppression of the soldier, of the duellist, of the assassin, and of the executioner: four kinds of persons whom assuredly I am not going to compare nor to confound, but who resemble one another by the violent death, the death against nature, which each of them inflicts upon our fellow-creatures. For this reason I believe it to be perfectly understood that Peace Societies, holding in profound respect the life of man, and directing their attention to the four kinds of aggression which are most destructive to that inspired breath, that creation of his hands, that emanation from himself, that gift of life which comes from God alone, and of which God alone may deprive man, will use their most strenuous efforts to bring about the abolition of war, of duelling, of murder, and of the scaffold. As, however, of all their modes of killing men, the oldest, the most barbarous, the bloodiest and the most disastrous in every respect is war, it is war which, above all and before all, we ought to and which we must oppose. Now, as against war, the very best possible, philosophical, political, moral, religious, and financial reasons have been either written or, in some shape or other, presented, I do think the time has arrived to pass from the phase of controversies and dogmatisms, to the phase of application. Doubtless, gentlemen, we attack a prejudice, and the very absurdest prejudice which afflicts humanity; nevertheless, to this day, absurdity has, in almost every case, enjoyed the peculiar privilege not only of governing the world, but what is the absurdity of absurdities, has had the good fortune to gain over the mind. Nay, more; the oddest fact of all—a fact which is really to be deplored—is, that the folks who are themselves the greatest victims of war are the very people who are the pronest to make game of peace-men, and who laugh the most at those who wish to save them; exactly like that good wife who was beaten by her husband, and who complained and went into a great rage because her husband was prevented from beating her. With such simple folks it is difficult to reason. But when one perceives that one is losing time and pains in attempting to prove to simpletons that they do wrong in injuring others, what remains to be done? Why, there only remains for us to deprive them of the means of doing the mischief. As a matter of course we shall have all the trouble in the world to make those governments understand who have no other strength but in the amount of their material force, and to make that numerous class understand which depends upon war and the war system for a subsistence, and which you will deprive of the means of existence if you deprive them of the means of killing others; I say, we shall have all the trouble in the world to make these parties comprehend that they would do well to disarm with a good grace. Now, don't you believe, gentlemen, that they are going generously to tear off and throw away their epaulets and undeck themselves of their glory; oh no! but if you will only do this for them, just take away their sashes and their scarfs, their cannon and their grape-shot, you may be quite certain that these great warriors will not, for the simple love of glory, repair to the field of battle, and set-to in their black coats, boxing one another; their fanaticism for an Arbela, a Pharsalia, an Austerlitz, or a Waterloo, would not carry them so far as that. No money, no war! Now-a-days, nothing is done for nothing, and war least of all. But one does not make war with one's own money, but with everybody's money—with the money of every one who is stupid enough to pay in this way for being killed. For all that, gentlemen, there are in the world a few sensible persons who would rather not be killed, either they or their children, and especially who would rather not have their money taken from them. Now, how is this to be managed? How shall we prevent their being deprived of their money?—for, after all, I repeat, no money, no battles! I see no other means—but must confess it is a rare good one—than to diminish the numbers of that heroic and expensive species of man called warriors. Now, how shall we diminish the numbers of these glorious devourers of budgets, unless it is by diminishing the grants made through the budgets?

And how shall we diminish these grants made through the budgets, except by nominating only such members to represent us as will vote for the reductions we require? And how, again, shall we nominate members who will vote for such reductions, unless it be to recommend those who have a vote to elect only friends of peace, resolutely determined not to hold the lives of men, and the money of the people, cheap, and who will vote ever and always against warriors and war, in every shape, and of every kind. This is the course I desire to suggest and to support.

The Rev. Dr. MASSIE wished to address a few words to a class representing the tenderness, confidence, and affection, of the domestic circle—who formed the earliest sentiments, and nurtured the strongest tendencies of youth. If they who represented their sex in this Congress, would also represent this Congress in their own sphere, the present generation would not depart until it had seen a generation that abhorred war. The female portion of society had been greatly liable to what might be called the scarlet fever [loud laughter]. If they would exercise a little self-control, if they would restrain that propensity, and only speak of war as it only ought to be spoken of in the family circle—if they would seek toys for their children from the circle of peace, and not from the instruments of war they would do inestimable service to the object of this Congress, and discharge a solemn obligation devolved upon them. They must also have ministers of peace in their pulpits [cheers]; congregations must look to that in selecting pastors. Dr. Massie concluded by stating that he was authorized by a gentleman anxious to promote this cause to say, that he would contribute £500 to a fund of £2,000, to enable Mr. Cobden to carry on an agitation in support of his arbitration motion [great applause]. He was the junior partner in a house of business, and he felt that this contribution would be well consecrated to the service of God [much applause]. The rev. Doctor had much pleasure in seconding the resolution, which was unanimously adopted.

ELIHU BURRITT then rose, amidst great and long-continued applause, to move the sixth resolution.

This Congress recommends all the friends of Peace to prepare public opinion, in their respective countries, with a view to the formation of an authoritative code of International Law.

He remarked that it had fallen to his lot at the two previous Congresses to present this or a similar proposition. On the last occasion he had endeavoured to show that this was not a peculiarly American idea, either in its origin or development; and he now recapitulated the arguments he had then adduced, to show the necessity and great advantage of an international code. The Congress was but a step in advance of the greatest jurists and statesmen of Europe in affirming that such a code would be of immense benefit; they only asserted besides, that it was practicable. The idea of their American friends was, that a commission of the jurists and diplomats of Christendom might revise the so-called code, eradicate its antagonisms and anomalies, and constitute a federal court for its administration. That which stood as a substitute for international law, was to be found only in the writings of scholars and historians—of Vattel, Grotius, or Puffendorf; and consisted but of opinions, arguments, and precedents—the latter being the essential element and basis of the whole. As those precedents consisted of such acts as the absorption of Poland into Russia, Prussia, and Austria, and every act defended from those—such as the American annexation of Texas, and French intervention in Italy—being incorporated with those precedents, the whole body was very much like what civil law would be if every transgression were to be put down as an authority and sanction for subsequent offences. Passing from this argument, the speaker invited his audience to consider the position of their great cause in the light of the principles of moral government and historical development, and of contemporaneous circumstances. He thus proceeded, in language which elicited continuous and enthusiastic applause:

Time and Providence, in all the vicissitudes and events with which they work, mark the experience of individuals, or measure the progress of nations, bring but one *now* to man, or to any human enterprise. Every great event or undertaking that has blessed the world with its beneficence has had its own peculiar *now*. And if the present year is not the *now* which God has given us for the realization of the hopes we entertain, and the measure we purpose, that *now* will come, for the mouth of the Lord of Hosts has spoken it. It will come, but not by observation. It will come; but the star of its advent will be recognised only by a few shepherds, precedence, so determined to rise on the ruins of another as the mechanical and agricultural industries of the different populations of Christendom, looking and longing for its appearance. Who discussed the fact that this year was the *now* of the Great Exhibition? Was it the spontaneous and universal conviction of the public mind that the set time had come for this magnificent demonstration in the Crystal Palace? No; its advent was comprehended by the faith of the few. Even to them it did not come by observation. They had no pathometer wherewith to test the sentiment of the world towards their proposition. It was not in their power to feel the pulse of the divided populations of the earth to ascertain whether their multitudinous heart beat in sympathy with the idea of this grand gathering of the nations. How, then, did the princely author of this monarch-thought of the age, and his dauntless coadjutors in the conception, ascertain that its *now* had come; that the mind of the world was ripe and ready for its realization; that the predilections of people and the pathos of Providence were in happy conjunction for this brilliant consummation. The circumstances under which they put out their great thought are full of instruction and encouragement to our faith. Ten years ago there were no interests in commonwealth of nations so mutually antagonistic, so jealous of competition, so adverse to reconciliation, so ambitious of Years of elaborate legislation had arrayed these interests against each other in lynx-eyed and tire-

less hostility. The artisans of one country were taught to regard their brethren of the spindle, hammer, and spade, of another, as natural enemies in the battle of life and labour. They were taught to conceal their skill, to lock their mechanical genius in closed oak laboratories, lest it should be purloined by foreigners. "No admittance here except on business," was written in barking bull-dog capitals over their factories and workshops. Abundant admittance to buy, but none to learn, was the meaning of this threatening monition. Even to the first day of 1851, the jealous tariffs of different countries seemed like lime-twigs set to catch and cripple the thought of bringing the Arts and Industries of all nations into one central Crystal Palace of Peace and Concord. In addition to this circumstance, a deluge of angry agitations was rolling over the Continent of Europe. During the last months of 1850, thousands, and tens of thousands of the well-skilled artisans of Prussia, Austria, and other German States, had laid down the peaceful implements of their handicraft, and were disciplining their hands to the bloody trade and weapons of war. And was this the time, was this the juncture and coincidence of auspicious opportunities for the Great Exhibition of the Arts and Industries of all Nations? So the originators of this wonderful event believed. Unaided by legislation, with no governmental power or authority to lean upon, they sent out their ideas, dovelike, among the divided populations of the earth. It dropped into the hearts of peoples like a still small voice of divine inspiration. It permeated the minds of the masses, touched their sympathies to the finest issues, and pervaded and united all with the common sentiment, that the great day of universal labour had come, when it was to be crowned with glory and honour, and the homage of potentates and peoples. Labour, patient, peaceful labour, that, from the closed gates of Paradise went forth, weeping, into the thorny wilderness of life, and traced it with the red pathway of her bleeding feet—Labour, hopeful, unassuming Labour, that had made bricks without straw in Egypt, and lain pale and hungry, and begged for crumbs on the door-stones of palaces which her peeled hands had filled with treasures and dainties more than the eye and appetite of ungrateful luxury could enjoy—Labour, that had walked and worked her way through the barbarism, and feudalisms of the past, with the fetter-prints of bondage still fresh and crimson around her limbs—meek, lowly-minded Labour, had come to her immortal *now*. . . . But the result of this grand experiment has a bearing upon our efforts and expectations far beyond the value and significance of an illustration. Great as are its triumphs, immeasurable as may be its consequences, it did not transpire on a line of human progress which may, in some dim, distant future, converge into the road which we are pursuing. No, the lines of the Great Exhibition, and the annual Peace Congress of Christendom, have already merged into the same highway of peace and harmonious brotherhood. It is not our doing. It is the work of Divine Providence, and it is marvellous in our eyes. It is not our saying. Let no one charge us with the ambitious assumption of this fact. Others have said it for us—others, of the highest authority, and in the audience of a listening world. The originators of this demonstration, and those who glory loudest in its principles, claim for it, as its highest honour, this result. Their fervid orators, in the glow of of enthusiastic eloquence, point to the Great Exhibition, and say, This is the true Peace Congress. They claim for it the character and object of our annual Peace Parliament of the People. They promise to realize the result for which we labour, to be first at the goal, and carry off the prize. They do not say that they are against us, or competing with us in a parallel race-course, but that they are far in advance of us, on the same high road toward the object of our affections and aspirations. Then, what becomes of the charge that we are going too fast and too far, when the originators of the Great Exhibition are boasting that they have taken the cause of Peace out of our hands, and are conveying it forward to its final consummation with railway speed, because that our expectations and progress move so careful and slow? The world, almost without a dissenting voice admits that the set time had come for this great demonstration; that the preparation of the popular mind of Christendom was complete for the realization of this scheme, even beyond the boldest conception, the most sanguine expectations of its originators. And it had but one single end from the beginning, and that was Peace. Let us grant it gladly and gratefully. That is the only end of our annual Peace Congress. Then will not the preparation and sympathy of the hearts of nations, and the co-operation of Divine Providence, which have crowned their undertaking with such mighty success, accrue to the realization of our aim and efforts? If their *now* has come, with such overplus of happy circumstances, can ours be far off? I row not.

M. COIGNET, silk manufacturer, of Lyons, seconded the resolution. In his own name, and that of his compatriots, he begged to pronounce the words, "Vive l'Angleterre." The key-note being given, the whole body of foreigners on the platform rose up, and testified their approval of the sentiments by enthusiastic shouts.

M. HIPPOLYTE PEUT next addressed the Congress, in French.

M. BOUVET, of the French National Assembly, was announced as the next speaker. In introducing him, Mr. RICHARD said that their friend had unhappily, in a moment of great temptation, of cruel insult, accepted a challenge. For that act of gross inconsistency with his professions and convictions, he had ever since experienced a poignant regret, and he had registered a vow in heaven never again so to transgress. M. Bouvet was received with much cordiality, and gave personal utterance to the feelings which had been expressed for him.

The next speaker was Dr. SCHERZER, of Vienna, who read as follows:—

You will excuse me when I read even the few words I have the honour to address to you; but I am so much touched by the sublime spectacle I witness, that I feel myself unable to speak by heart, although I speak with all my heart. I come from Vienna, from Austria—a country longing for peace—a country which only recently has seen and endured the horrors of war, and the fields of which are still strewn with the wasted ears of corn, the tears of widows, and the blood of brave youths who died in the love of their country! I am sorry to find my country so poorly represented in this

meeting, but you may depend upon millions of absent friends even in Austria. Yes, I repeat it, millions of friends—for with the exception of a few proud and ambitious natures, the great mass of the 35,000,000 of its inhabitants are friends of universal peace! And surely there is no country in the world which requires more the blessing of peace than poor Germany, bleeding from all parts of its deadly wounded body. I shall not abuse the honour I enjoy in addressing this illustrious assembly. What I wish to say, what I wish engraven in the hearts of every one present, is briefly this: I do not consider it sufficient for our high task to meet once a year, and afterwards let things go by themselves. But I think that we all should endeavour to illustrate our principles by our examples—that we should organize for that purpose societies and meetings in every country, in every town, in every place—that we should even try to raise funds to enable us to support the costs incurred; in short, that we should not let pass the slightest opportunity to show ourselves useful and worthy members of the society of peace—of the human society. I myself intend, at my return, to labour in this way, and propose, with the permission of the state of siege in which we find ourselves, to publish a pamphlet on the elevation of the labouring classes, the profit of which I will dedicate to the propagation of the sublime ideas of peace and reconciliation. But it seems almost foolish to speak of peace in a country like Austria, which I am deeply afflicted to state still maintains an army of nearly half a million of soldiers—to speak of peace in Austria, which, in spite of the greatest quiet for now two years, is in the state of siege, and in which liberal feeling and free sentiment are in fear of muskets and, I am ashamed to say, of bastonades. Yes, I repeat, it seems almost ridiculous to speak of peace in my unhappy country, after the conferences and military shows at Olmutz and Warsaw. But I have faith in public opinion—I have faith in the good understanding of the masses of the suffering people, who abhor war and whose merit it is, more than that of the Governments, that war did not break out last autumn between the two brother nations of Austria and Prussia. We need not fear. Public opinion is the supreme court of political life. The voice of the people is the voice of God. If the opinion and good understanding of all nations are for us, who will dare to be against us? And this is the reason why, in face of all opposition, I have the best and most unshaken belief in the success of our Divine cause; this is the reason why I hope to yet see the sunrise of that glorious time

"When man to man the wide world o'er
Shall brothers be, and a' that."

[great cheering and laughter, the speaker adding with much *naïveté*, "That is your Burns"]. And this conviction of the final victory of public opinion causes me to rejoice in the hope that the friends of universal peace will one day shake hands with my distressed countrymen [loud cheers].

The eighth and last resolution (on the paper) was then read. It was as follows:—

This Congress, convinced that whatever brings the nations of the earth together in intimate and friendly intercourse, must tend to the establishment of peace, by removing misapprehensions and prejudices, and inspiring mutual respect, faith, with unqualified satisfaction, the Exhibition of the Industry of all Nations, as eminently calculated to promote that end.

This resolution was carried by acclamation. Mr. RICHARD suggesting that it was not necessary their time having just expired, to support it by speeches, it having been touched upon by almost every gentleman who had already addressed the meeting.

JOSEPH STURGE, Esq., proposed another resolution:—

That, encouraged by the interest shown in this and previous congresses, a Congress of the friends of peace should be held next year, at such place and time as the bureau might decide.

He did not propose this lightly, for he knew something of the labour of preparing for these assemblies (hear, hear). Since the last Congress he had travelled 500 miles—he might say under the protection of the Congress; for, on one occasion, when there was some difficulty about his transport, the production of his ticket of membership was at once accepted as a substitute [loud laughter and cheers]. He had been privileged to urge their principles in the midst of standing armies, even in the camp of the Schleswig-Holsteiners, and in the presence of the Prime Minister of Denmark.

EDWARD SMITH, Esq., of Sheffield, seconded the resolution, which was put and adopted.

Mr. H. VINCENT then announced, on the part of Mr. George Hadfield, of Manchester, that that gentleman intended to have a silver medal struck, at his own expense, and presented to the French working-men who had attended this Congress, as a memorial of the satisfaction which their visit had created. The proposition was received with acclamation.

The PRESIDENT then rose and delivered the following closing address:—

In closing this Congress, allow me to congratulate you on the peace and order which have marked its proceedings. I have had occasion to attend many large public meetings, and several in this Hall, but I was never before present at a meeting when the Chairman was not even once called upon to exercise his authority, either over the audience or the speaker. It is not a less agreeable source of congratulation that the gentlemen to whose eloquent and argumentative speeches we have listened with so much pleasure, have never violated the regulations laid down for the guidance of the meeting, and have never allowed their feelings to carry them out of their proper sphere of peaceful discussion into the field of political argument, within which we should at every step have been treading upon thorns. Although I had read much and thought much, as all of you must have done, on the important topics to which our attention has been directed, I carry away from this Congress, as I trust all of you do, many new views and many new arguments in favour of universal peace. But while you have yourselves been impressed with the deep importance of this cause, as the cause of humanity and religion, I hope that you will regard it as a sacred duty to teach the lessons of peace in your families, and to propagate them throughout the sphere over which your influence extends. It is only by enlisting the young in

our service, and preserving their minds from the poison that lurks under their amusements, as well as under the prevailing system of education, that we can hope to attain the grand object at which we aim. To you, gentlemen, whose daily work it is to teach and exemplify the doctrines of peace and charity, I need not offer any suggestions for your guidance; but you will perhaps allow me to say that, while much may be done for our cause from the pulpit, more may be expected from the school. It is by the selection of proper teachers, and the choice of proper school-books for the schools which you superintend, or over which you have any control, that you are most likely to diminish that admiration of military achievements which is so strong in the young, and which, when fostered by the poet and the historian, exercises such an influence over them in after life. Were our youth better instructed than they are in the popular departments of physical and natural science, subjects with which no deeds of heroism or personal adventure are associated; and were every school to have a museum containing objects of natural history, and specimens of the fine and the useful arts, the amusements of the school would assume a different character, and the scholars would go into active life better fitted for those peaceful professions to which ere long they must be confined. But there is still another class whose active interest in the cause of peace I would fain secure. If there are mothers in this assembly, as I can testify that there are fathers, whose sons have been sent, in the service of their country, to the regions of pestilence or of war, I need not solicit their assistance in propagating the doctrines of peace. They will proffer it in tears—in tears shed in the recollection of those anxious days in which they have followed in their hazardous career the objects of their deepest love—now sinking under a burning sun—now prostrate under tropical disease—now exposed to the sword of the enemy. If there are others in the fair assemblage which graces this hall, whose sympathies have not yet been excited, and whose feelings have not been harrowed by the calamities of war, I would implore their active exertions in our cause. About to become mothers themselves, they have much at stake in the question of peace or war; and, feeling as woman ever feels, a deep interest in the cause of humanity, I would solicit their gentle influence over those stronger and less susceptible natures with which their own is destined to blend. With the expression of this wish I close our proceedings, trusting that we shall all meet again at our next Congress, with fresh zeal and ardour in the cause which we have so much at heart.

The Hon. HORACE GREELEY, of New York moved, and Mr. KERSHAW, M.P., seconded, a vote of thanks to the President, which was carried by acclamation.

Thanks were also voted by acclamation to the vice-presidents and secretaries, with which the proceedings of the Congress terminated.

DISTINGUISHED DELEGATES.

As the list of delegates contains more than a thousand names, it is impossible to give it entire, as on former occasions. The following are the more distinguished by office or character:—

MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT.

Richard Cobden, Esq.	West Riding.
Charles Hindley, Esq.	Ashton.
William Ewart, Esq.	Dumfries.
Joseph Brotherton, Esq.	Salford.
Sir E. N. Buxton.	Essex.
Lawrence Heyworth, Esq.	Derby.
J. B. Smith, Esq.	Sterling.
John Ellis, Esq.	Leicester.
Richard Harris, Esq.	Ditto.
H. A. Aglionby, Esq.	Cockermouth.
Edward Horsman, Esq.	Ditto.
James Kershaw, Esq.	Stockport.
Joseph Hume, Esq.	Montrose.
Alexander Hastie, Esq.	Glasgow.
John Macgregor, Esq.	Ditto.
J. G. Marshall, Esq.	Leeds.
John Bright, Esq.	Manchester.
George Thompson, Esq.	Tower Hamlets.
John Brocklehurst, Esq.	Macclesfield.
John Williams, Esq.	Ditto.
Charles Cowan, Esq.	Edinburgh.
T. Milner Gibson, Esq.	Manchester.

CIVIL AND MUNICIPAL BODIES REPRESENTED.

Town Council of Dunfermline.
Town Council of Sheffield.

RELIGIOUS BODIES REPRESENTED.

Western Association of Baptist Churches.
Hertfordshire and Bedfordshire Association.
Midland Baptist Association.
Northamptonshire Baptist Association.
Wesleyan Reform Association.
Association of General Baptist Churches.

LITERARY AND SCIENTIFIC GENTLEMEN.

Mr. Babbage. Mr. Thomas Carlyle.
Mr. Douglas Jerrold. Charles Mackay, LL.D.
Dr. Dick. Mr. George Combe.

MINISTERS OF THE GOSPEL (200 IN ALL).

Rev. Dr. Aspinall,	The Church of England.
Rev. Thomas Spencer,	
Rev. T. C. Pym,	
Rev. J. A. James,	
Rev. Thomas Binney,	Independents.
Rev. James Sherman,	
Rev. Dr. Lefebvre,	
Rev. William Brock,	Baptist.
Rev. Charles Stovel,	
Rev. Dr. Godwin,	

PROFESSORS AT VARIOUS COLLEGES.

Dr. John Harris, President of the New College, London.
Dr. Davidson, Professor of Philosophy at Lancashire College.
Rev. Thomas Thomas, Baptist College, Pontypool.
Rev. Dr. Acworth, Pres. of Horton College, Bradford, Yorks.
Rev. Professor Dr. M'Michael.
Rev. J. Angus, President of Stepany College.
Professor Barlow, of Edinburgh.

EDITORS OF NEWSPAPERS.

Edward Baines, Esq., *Leeds Mercury*.
Joseph Barrett, Esq., *The Friend*.
Dr. Campbell, *British Banner*.
E. C. Collins, Esq., *Hull Advertiser*.
Edward Miall, Esq., *Nonconformist*.

MAYORS, MAGISTRATES, ETC.

George Goodman, Esq., Mayor of Leeds.
William Williams, Esq., High Constable of Huddersfield.
David Derry, Esq., Mayor of Plymouth.
Samuel Gurney, Esq.
Sir Wilfrid Lawson.

Sir E. Kanah Armitage.
Mr. George Wilson, Chairman of the Anti-corn-law League.
Dr. Lee, of Aylesbury.
J. Silk Buckingham, Esq.
Henry Vincent, Esq.
Mr. Thomas Beggs.

FOREIGN DELEGATES.

CONTINENTAL.

L. Bootier	Adinkerke, Belgium.
T. Coignet	Paris.
Jules Delbruck	Ditto.
M. Hearsau	Ditto.
J. S. Hoesy	Ditto.
G. George	Verviers, Belgium.
C. Guillaumie	Paris.
M. Guindeul	Chapelle sur Loire.
J. C. Hospes	Bavaria.
D. Jonet	Conillet, Belgique.
C. Kreuter	Munich.
E. D. Lacroix	Paris.
Rev. G. Litchott	Frankfort-on-Maine.
General Mexaroz	Hungary.
Rev. A. Montandon	Paris.
Carlos de Odrizola	Salvador, Spain.
Johann Pogge	Mecklenberg-Schwerin.
E. de Pompery	Paris.
C. Read	Ditto.
Rev. — Rouville	Ditto.
Dr. Scherzer	Vienna.
Pastor Verrue	St. Sauvant, France.
Carl Wittinberg	Mecklenberg-Schwerin.
Dr. Zacharia	Stettin.

AMERICA.

C. Barrows	Fryeburg.
A. Boody	Ditto.
W. A. Hurt	Washington.
Rev. J. W. Chickering	Portland, Maine.
P. B. Day	New Hampshire.
Rev. A. Dresser	Oberlin.
T. Drew	Maine.
Ossian Dodge	Boston.
Rev. D. C. Eddy	Lowell.
Rev. Dr. Elton	Brown University.
A. R. Forsyth	Indiana.
Rev. T. Aaton	Massachusetts.
Rev. H. Garnet	Geneva.
D. Gould	Sharon.
W. Hunt	Maine.
E. Jackson, jun.	Boston.
Elder Matthews	New England.
Rev. J. Maxwell	Ohio.
Rev. Dr. Mills	Lowell.
Rev. A. A. Milner	Boston.
E. F. Palmer	Philadelphia.
Dr. Perreto	Ditto.
T. Pierce	Illinois.
Moses Pond	Boston.
C. A. V. Putnam	Ditto.
J. T. Quiffie	Whitesborough.
Isaac Sherman	Buffalo.
Rev. C. Spear	Editor of the <i>Prisoner's Friend</i> , Boston.
Rev. Zadok Thompson	Burlington.
Rev. J. E. Tyler	Wynham, Con.
J. T. Updegraff	Ohio.
C. H. De Wolfe	Old Town, Maine.

THE SOIREE AT WILLISS'S-ROOMS.

On Friday evening these large and elegant rooms were filled by an assembly, a great proportion of whom were habited in the Quaker costume—novel to that highly fashionable locality, but familiar in all the resorts of philanthropy and patriotism. Between 700 and 800 ladies and gentlemen were present. Among them Mr. Cobden, M.P., and Mr. George Thompson, M.P., were easily recognised. Mr. Elihu Burritt, Mr. Vincent, M. Cocquerel, M. Garnier, Mr. Garnet, and other speakers at the Congress, were surrounded by "troops of friends." The portly forms of the Revs. Thomas Binney and William Brock represented more of their brethren than we can name. The Italian orator, Gavazzi, and the Roman Prince of Canino, were conspicuous among the visitors—though almost monopolized by their compatriots. On side-tables were a number of portfolios and rare volumes; and from the walls were suspended numerous pictures—of which copies in water-colours, of Landseer's vivid illustrations of "Peace" and "War," were the most noticed. Conversation was kept up among the promenaders with great liveliness, occasionally reanimated by music. Ices, coffee, and other refreshments, were served in rooms adjoining the great hall; and if scenes of scuffling, such as are frequent at Almack's, were not unknown, we can answer for it that in not the gayest assembly was ever more of mutual politeness displayed, or more genuine pleasure enjoyed.

About half-past nine, a number of the leading friends appeared on the orchestra gallery, and the company immediately put themselves in an attitude of attention. Presently Mr. COBDEN came forward, and addressed the assembly as follows:—Our English friends, who have been instrumental in bringing this company together, are desirous that it should contribute as much as possible to the enjoyment of the foreigners present, and that they should carry away with them recollections of a pleasant social evening. But whenever Englishmen come together in numbers like this, they have an instinctive notion, which is shared, I dare say, by our American friends, that the proceedings cannot go off perfectly well without some little talking in the way of short speeches. But it must be remembered that the greater number of our foreign friends do not understand the language in which I am now addressing you, and that it would be to them a tedious endurance to have to listen at any length to speeches they don't understand. I would therefore suggest that our excellent friend Mr. Samuel Bowley, of Gloucester, should say a few words to us—and I know no man who can better compress a good deal into a small compass—then a French or German friend—and perhaps the Americans will also send a representative into the gallery—and after that there should be no more speaking, but we should freely circulate among each other, entering into conversation, and making private and perhaps permanent acquaintances, that after we have separated shall serve to unite us

together, and help, as individual friendships do, to bind our respective nations together in amicable correspondence. I am sure I express the feelings of every English lady and gentleman in this room when I say, we are very happy in the opportunity of meeting so many foreign friends as are here this evening—and not least, the body of French workmen [hear, hear]. I have shaken hands with them, and know by the touch that they are real working men [hear, hear, and laughter]; and though we know no distinction of classes here, there is something that especially commends these men to our kindness and attention—it is, that they represent large bodies of their fellow-workmen; and thus, for the first time in the annals of the two countries, we welcome amongst us a deputation from the French people [cheers]. They had sent before them in the works of elegance, taste, and utility, which abound in the French department of the Great Exhibition, proofs of their industry, skill, and intellect; and they have confirmed the opinion we had formed of them by their demeanour amongst us, and the talent exhibited by their representative in his speech at Exeter Hall [cheers]. It is a special reason that we should honour them that, as Mr. Burritt eloquently said yesterday, the Great Exhibition is the coronation of labour. I will only repeat the expression of my sincere wish that, when we separate, it will be each to promote, in his own way, the good cause in which we are embarked, to be the apostles of those principles which we believe are destined in future to unite the different nations which compose mankind, in the place of those animosities by which they have hitherto been unhappily divided [cheers].

M. Coquerel having rendered the substance of Mr. Cobden's address into French,

SAMUEL BOWLEY, Esq., expressed his pleasure at this combination of social entertainment with mutual improvement in those great truths which lay at the base of all true unity among nations. He was glad to see present so many of the Society of Friends, a people who had held these great principles religiously for nearly two hundred years. The more sacredly those principles were held, the more rapid and certain would be the progress of this movement, both at home and abroad. Only let them be consistent in holding these principles—ready to trust their bodies and chattels to Omnipotent protection—and the cause of peace and of the gospel would advance together; for he knew that inconsistency in this particular had been one great cause of infidelity both in this and other countries. There was a practical difficulty in the way of many in this matter—though for his own part, he felt he ought not to look at practical difficulties when he had got hold of a great principle [hear, hear]. And this practical difficulty was not met with, as might be supposed, among the uneducated and vulgar, so much as among the educated classes. When we saw a man coming out of a public-house, pull off his coat to fight, we knew not what to call him—and if in a moment of temptation, he enlisted into the ranks, we knew that the responsibility rested with those who voted away the money in Parliament, to pay those poor men for their services, and prepare them for the field. It was from those who sit at their desks, and hire men to kill one another until one party is tired of fighting—and then do what we wished them to do before fighting [hear, hear]—it was from these men the objection came. They had no doubt heard of the exhibition of the battle of Waterloo. A little boy was taken by his parents to see that exhibition, and he asked his father what they were fighting about. His father could not tell, and referred it to the mother. Neither could she exactly say; so they called in the old sergeant at the door, who had been in the battle, and of course could tell; but he scratched his head, and said in his vulgar way, "I be hanged if I can tell" [laughter]. Well, the great objection was, Suppose we were invaded by a French army, what should we do? Why, he would say, give them an entertainment in Hyde Park [laughter]. As a friend of his said, when asked, "What would you do, sir, if a Frenchman came into your house?" "Why, I would give him a chair to sit down upon" [much laughter]. That was the way to conquer men's hearts. He had seen felons in Newgate, clanking their chains, unshuffled by the force of law and the terror of punishment, melted into contrition by the gentle voice of Elizabeth Fry [hear, hear] speaking the truth in love. Mr. Bowley concluded by suggesting that the French should henceforth be considered not as our natural enemies, but, as our nearest foreign neighbours, our natural friends [laughter and applause].

M. COQUEREL having again acted as interpreter, M. LECLAIRE was the next speaker. He undertook to express for his countrymen present their thanks for the hospitality they had received, and their anxiety to reciprocate this fraternal kindness at the earliest possible opportunity. He remarked (with that French gallantry, his interpreter, Mr. Cobden, observed, which can never speak in the presence of women without a compliment) that nothing had struck him so much at Exeter Hall as the presence and attention of English ladies. He was prepared for much able speaking, and the unflagging interest of men so accustomed to public discussion as the English—but he was astonished at the unwearied patience of the ladies, who were present five or six hours on three successive days. The ladies, he added, were the natural protectors of the cause of peace—for it was they who moulded the intellect and trained the feelings of youth. He therefore commended to them the task of bringing the world to a better understanding of this great question. Especially in contracting the tenderest relation they bore to the other sex, should they avoid attachments

to men of war. He concluded with a tribute of admiration to the Queen of England—she wielded the sceptre of a great empire, but her crown of domestic virtues surpassed in splendour that of her regal dignity [applause].

Mr. E. ELLISER, of Frankfort-on-the-Maine, was the next and last speaker. He addressed the assembly in English, believing they would prefer the imperfect utterance of that to a speech in an unknown tongue. He apologized for his countrymen that they were not more numerous represented in Congress, and more active in the cause; but there would quickly be established a number of peace societies in Germany, if the Government would permit it. He considered that the army of diplomatists was even more mischievous to Europe than the armies of soldiers. He was sorry that the most influential English newspaper, the *Times*, should speak in the manner it does of German affairs. He would like, after the manner of his country, to embrace them all; but as he could not, he would tender for himself and countrymen hearty thanks for all the kindness shown to them [applause].

Before the speakers left the balcony, Mr. COBDEN exhibited to the company a piece of the new gutta percha line for the sub-marine telegraph—the first specimen sent out by the makers. Instead of a plain roll of gutta percha, with the wire enclosed, like that at first designed, it consisted of four lines, each about the thickness of a tobacco pipe, twisted together into a strong but pliable rope; the wires being completely protected from contact by the non-conducting property of the surrounding substance. Mr. Cobden remarked that we were often told railways and telegraphs would do more than Peace Congresses to prevent war; but it should be remembered that the discovery or application of scientific principles to philanthropic purposes generally originated with men who were themselves philanthropists. Sir G. Stevenson was a good free-trader, and no doubt the inventor of the sub-marine telegraph was a friend to the Peace movement.

Music, conversation, and promenading were then resumed, and kept up with sober gaiety for some time. About eleven the company began to retire, many having a long distance to return home; and before midnight the doors of Willis's-rooms had closed upon this most pleasant and appropriate finale to the Great Peace Congress of 1861.

DINNER TO THE FRENCH WORKMEN.

On Saturday afternoon, the French workmen, and a number of English guests, were magnificently entertained at dinner by Monsieur Soyer, at his symposium. Among the English guests was Charles Fox, Esq. (one of the builders of the Crystal Palace), and Mr. Henry Vincent. In the absence of Monsieur Emile Girardin, who had been suddenly re-called to Paris, Mr. Henry Vincent occupied the Chair, and Monsieur Larcher the vice-chair. After a sentiment in honour of the Queen and Prince Albert, Mr. Vincent pronounced a discourse in French, showing the connexion between the principles of peace and true liberty, which was greeted with vociferous applause. He concluded with the sentiment, "To the working-classes of France, and to the Fraternity of the Nations," followed by three times three cheers. Monsieur Larcher gave "The working-classes of England," which was greeted by the same applause. The Chairman then gave "Charles Fox, Esq., and all engaged in erecting the Great Exhibition." In reply, Mr. Fox expressed himself delighted to meet a body of French workmen. He had been a workman himself, and he would assure them that, during his labour for the Palace of Crystal, he had been chiefly animated by the idea that it would aid the cause of Peace and human brotherhood [great cheering]. The healths of M. Soyer and the Count D'Orsay were loudly cheered—M. Soyer delivering a most animated speech in reply. After a sentiment to the liberty of the press, M. Soyer proposed the health of the chairman. Mr. Vincent briefly replied, and the company broke up at 10 o'clock. It was truly a delightful meeting, and one that will contribute towards the realization of the great objects of the Peace Congress. The conduct of M. Soyer was most generous.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The Annual Meeting of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society was held in Exeter Hall, on Monday evening last, Samuel Gurney, Esq., presiding. The Hall was well filled, and the platform was occupied by a large number of the leading friends of the Anti-Slavery cause; among whom we observed the Rev. Drs. Archer, Burns, Campbell, Massie, Richey; Revs. Thos. Binney, Jas. Sherman, Wm. Brock, J. Davies, G. Smith, George Scott, J. Woodwork, &c., &c.; Rev. A. Coquerel, Paris; Revs. G. C. Beckwith, D. C. Eddy, Amos Dresser, H. H. Garnett, Josiah Henson, from the United States and Canada, &c., &c.; Charles Hindley, Esq., M.P.; George Wm. Alexander, Josiah Forster, Robert Forster, George Stacey, Samuel Sturge, Henry Storry, Robert Alsop, Frederick Tuckett, Samuel Cash, John Harrison, Esqrs., London; Edward Thomas, Bristol; G. W. Harrison, Wakefield; Thomas Catchpool, Colchester; Joseph Sturge, Birmingham; J. D. Carr, Carlisle; Thomas Bignold, Norwich; John Candler, Chelmsford, Esqrs.; with a large number of gentlemen from the provinces, as well as the Continent of Europe and the United States.

The CHAIRMAN, in his opening address, remarked upon several encouraging circumstances in the

present position of the anti-slavery cause. Our West India colonies were beginning to prosper, and find themselves able to compete with the slave labour of Brazil. Notwithstanding the enactment of the Fugitive Slave Law, repugnant to the feelings of our common nature, it argued well that California had given a preponderance to the number of the Free States, and was a new reason to hope that the Union would, ere long, get rid of the abominable iniquity which they thought it difficult to get rid of—in which he entirely differed from them [applause].

JOHN SCOBLE, Esq., the Secretary, read letters from Lord Brougham and Sir Edward Buxton, who regretted their inability to attend, and expressed a hearty sympathy with the objects of the society. The Report, only an abstract of which was read, first gave the statistics of slavery, showing that 7,450,000 human beings are now in fetters, being an increase of 1,650,000 in the United States, Brazil, and the Spanish colonies—550,000 more than have been emancipated by Great Britain, France, Denmark, and Sweden united. The Report then went on to state the present condition of the slave-trade, according to the second report of the Lords. An account was next given of the mission of Messrs. Alexander and Candler to the West Indies, which was followed by remarks on African and Coolie immigration, and recent events in Brazil. The United States were then referred to, and the resolutions which have been passed by divers public bodies in connexion with the Fugitive Slave Act. A tribute of admiration and gratitude was paid to France, and the course of Denmark and Holland mentioned with regret. The committee concluded by a declaration that, in the midst of so much to afflict the philanthropic mind, there was also much to cheer.

JOHN CANDLER, Esq., moved the adoption of the Report. He confirmed, from personal observation, what the Chairman had said of the West India islands, and mentioned, as a very pleasing circumstance, that the cultivation of sugar from beet-root had been begun in Ireland [hear, hear]. As far as it had yet been tried, the project had been attended with the most favourable results. Just before coming to that meeting, he had seen a specimen of the sugar which, in six weeks, would be brought into the market, manufactured from the beet-root. Its cost would be about £32 per ton, or less than 4d. per lb. [hear, hear.] The friends of true and universal liberty would certainly bid Ireland God speed in this new enterprise, as well as in the cultivation of flax, which had also been commenced in good earnest in that country. He did hope that those who represented Irish interests would have their attention fully directed to this question [hear, hear].

EDWARD THOMAS, Esq., of Bristol, contented himself with simply seconding the resolution.

G. W. ALEXANDER, Esq., Treasurer of the Society, moved:—

That, while this meeting deeply deplores the continued existence of Slavery and the Slave-trade, domestic or foreign, in the United States and the Brazilian empire, and in the colonial dependencies of Spain, Holland, and Portugal, the fearful horrors and demoralization by which they are uniformly accompanied, and the great impediments which they offer to the progress of civilization and religion in the world, they rejoice in the many circumstances which indicate their approaching extinction; and would urge upon every Christian community, and on the friends of humanity and freedom at large, to use every practicable, legitimate, and peaceful effort to accelerate the period when the common rights of mankind, without distinction of country or colour, shall be universally acknowledged and enjoyed.

It was hardly needful for him to say, that he most heartily sympathized in the sentiment of the resolution; and not the less because he had very recently visited nearly the whole of our West Indian colonies, and, partially, the United States of America. He must confess that, much as some persons might look down upon the emancipated colonies of Great Britain, he had far rather make any one of those dependencies his residence than take up his abode in the United States of America [applause]. At this moment there was not one single portion of that vast territory in which men were free. He repeated, and with emphasis, that there was not a free man in America; for, if any man dare to obey the dictates of humanity towards the fugitive slave,—if a man did that for his fellow which was his duty, and which not only his feelings but his religion led him to do, he was liable to be sent to prison and be compelled to pay a heavy fine for this act of humanity [cries of "Shame, shame!"] He must confess, that before it was his lot to visit the shores of America he had not fully apprehended the whole of the evils connected with slavery; and had comparatively no conception of the extent of the prejudice which actually prevails against people of colour. He could relate many circumstances in illustration of this. A young female friend in New York, who was desirous of starting a school for coloured children, could not procure in that city a suitable room for her purpose, because the owners refused to allow them to be occupied by individuals who had not a skin like their own [hear, hear]. The Fugitive Slave Law could not be spoken of in terms of condemnation too strong—but there had been laws passed by some of the separate States, quite as revolting and cruel as that unrighteous measure [hear]. For instance, in the small state of Delaware, which might be almost termed a free State, a law was passed which rendered persons of colour liable to a fine of fifty dollars simply for going into the State; and if the money was not forthcoming, they were to be sold as slaves in order to pay the fine [cries of "Shame!"] When he was in Baltimore, the capital of Maryland, a very fine city, and but for slavery equal, for a habitation, to any town in the United States, he was informed that a law had been passed there within the last few years, by which any person of colour guilty of offences against the law, was to

receive the most unequal punishment, and for a third violation was to be sold out of the State for the same period that a white man guilty of the same offence would be imprisoned [hear, hear]. One individual, it appeared, was imprisoned in the goal there for fourteen years, for giving a slave a free pass [shame]. Among other considerations connected with slavery, it was important to remember that in order to preserve this infamous system, it was necessary to make a law prohibiting the teaching of a slave to read, and enforce it by the most severe penalties, even by that of death. In Washington he visited school after school, from which coloured children were systematically excluded. He was highly gratified to state that a very different state of things prevailed in this respect in the British colonies [applause].

M. COQUENET, Jun., Pastor of the Protestant Church in Paris, seconded the resolution. He said he was not quite sure whether his language might not be at variance with the rules of their grammar; but certainly the emotions of his heart were not at variance with their feelings [applause]. He was happy to say, that he came from a country where there were no more slaves. He did not know what Providence had in reserve for the Republic of France; but he knew this, and if it had been blotted out from the list of European nations, the day after all French slaves had been set at liberty, it would have been enough for true glory—enough for every Frenchman to be proud of their Republic [loud cheers]. The false and abominable idea which an attempt had been made to put into the heads of the people of France, that "property is theft," was perfectly true, when applied to men who said of a brother man, "He is my property." The man that dared to say that was a liar and a thief [immense applause]. A man was his own property, or rather, of Jehovah who made him. The man who said a slave was his property, was a thief, not only of the man, but of every hour of his time, of every beat of his bosom, and of every work he could perform [cheers]. He was thankful to M. Proudhon for putting that phrase into the world, "Property is theft;" for though in all other respects it was false, it was really true in this. He must be allowed just to say what he felt when he came into that Hall. The place on the platform which, by chance, was given to him was between two gentlemen of colour, and he felt the position to be one both of privilege and honour [great cheering]. He felt this because he was a white man, and belonged to the white race which was so long the tyrannical oppressor, and because they belonged to that black race which so long has been oppressed and injured. It would be his great joy, if he could, to atone with true fraternal love for all that they had suffered from his countrymen. He felt this, not now in word only, but at the time when he found himself in that interesting position, that it was an honour to sit between two countrymen who had been injured by his own [cheers]. He did not believe that he had conferred any honour upon them because he was a white man; but on the contrary, that because they were black, they had conferred honour upon him in permitting him to sit between them [laughter and applause]. He could not understand how it was that those individuals in any country who made a difference between black and white men, not only could call themselves Christians, for they had no right whatever to that name [cheers], but, how they could dare to call themselves "enlightened," or "Protestant," or "Republican." They were in reality despots—tyrannical despots [loud cheers]. They did not know what real life was, or what man was—a brother, a creature of God [loud applause]. God did not call his people slaves, but children. The Saviour himself said, "I call you not servants, but friends." Now, if God called men his "children," and Christ called them his "friends," why should any man be too proud to call his equal friend and brother? (The rev. gentleman resumed his seat amid great cheering.)

The Rev. WILLIAM OWEN supported the resolution in an able speech, dwelling chiefly on the theological and religious aspects of the question. He thought that Mr. Wesley said truly when he termed slavery "the sum of all villainies." Many slaveholders and apologists for slavery called themselves by the Christian name, and he would not say that they were not Christians, although he must say that their conduct gave the lie to their profession; and until they harmonized the two, they were, in his judgment, unworthy of Christian recognition ["No, no," and loud applause]. Mr. Owen proceeded to grapple with the statement, that both the Old and New Testaments sanctioned slavery. The instructions of the Jewish lawgiver were in direct antagonism with the practice of those who professed to obey his law. "He that stealeth a man and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death." If they would have the law, let them go to the law. Moses Stewart had defended the Fugitive Slave-law, but there was another Moses who had said, in Deuteronomy xxiii. 15, "Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant which is escaped from his master unto thee. He shall dwell with thee, even among you in that place which he shall choose in one of thy gates, which it liketh him best; thou shalt not oppress him" [cheers]. But it was said that the New Testament sanctioned slavery, and we are told continually about Paul sending back Onesimus to Philemon, who is said to have been his slave, although the word slave does not occur in the Epistle; but, say the advocates of slavery, the word there translated "servant" is *doulos*, and means "slave." Yes, but did it always mean slave? Christ used the same word when he said to his disciples, "I have not called you servants, but friends." Did he mean slaves? The same word, *doulos*, was also

used in relation to Christ, when it is said, "He took on him the form of a servant." Did this mean slave? He thought that the time was finally come for the Church to resolve to have no communion with men who could seek to support such a system. He for one would "have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, but rather reprove them" [cheers].

Mr. Gurney having vacated the chair, it was reoccupied by Joseph Sturge, Esq. The collection was then made.

The Rev. WILLIAM BROCK, in moving the second resolution, said,—He should like to have every American advocate of slavery present, with Dr. Spring at their head ["hear, hear," and cheers], that they might look about them, and see the character entertained of slavery by the Christian men of this country. It was the custom there to speak of slavery as an evil which had been entailed upon them by England, and to say that but for England it would have been unknown. And the argument against it was, Let the slaveholders alone, they would at length purge themselves of this contemptible insult against God and man. The argument was a false one. Such things do not mend of themselves. As a proof of this, there were two and a half millions of slaves some time back; there were three and a quarter millions now; and fifty years ago there were three hundred thousand. In 1800 there were six slave states, now there were fourteen, and this progress was natural enough [sensation]. When the Methodist Church was founded there in 1784, it was enacted, that no holder of slaves should be received or retained in membership. Now, it is decided that slavery is not a moral evil, and that the aforesaid enactment shall not be enforced. When the Presbyterian Church was there founded in 1794, it was enacted, that slavery is a gross violation of the most precious rights of human nature. Now, the Presbyterian Church declares this enactment to be offensive and insulting, and it is a dead letter. To come to the consummation of all proof that there was no improvement. Slaves have been, from the first, prone to run away, and individuals had long obtained a living by hunting fugitive slaves—but now to prevent this practice of running away, when a fugitive was secured he was to be instantly taken before a commissioner, the captor testifying to the facts, and the jurisdiction was immediate and summary, without the slightest appeal being heard. Was not the Rev. Mr. Beecher right when he said, "if, in God's providence, fugitives ask bread or shelter, raiment or conveyance, at my hands, my own children shall lack bread before the fugitive slave shall ask in vain. I will shelter them. I will conceal them. I will speed their flight. While under my shelter, they shall be to me as my own flesh and blood. The man who shall obey this law shall never pollute my hand with his friendship, nor cast his swarthy shadow across my threshold. I will cheerfully take the pains and the penalties of the bill; bonds and fines will be my honour; imprisonment my passport to fame!" [great cheering.] After some forcible remarks to the effect that the Americans should be the last to be squeamish about disobedience to law, Mr. Brock concluded by moving:—

That while this meeting have learned, with the deepest regret and astonishment, the tendency of the recent legislation of the United States to extend and perpetuate the system of slavery on the American Continent, in flagrant opposition to their declaration of independence, in violation of every principle of humanity and justice, and in total contradiction of the benign spirit and precepts of Christianity, they more particularly remark the enactment of a most odious, inhuman, and impious law for the recovery of fugitive slaves, who have sought refuge and protection from oppression in the Free States, and they feel bound, both as men and as Christians, interested in the freedom and welfare of the human race, to denounce it as a gross outrage on the advancing civilization and the religious sentiments of the age. That amidst the gloom occasioned by this retrograde policy of the United States Congress, this meeting hail with sincere satisfaction the enlightened and generous opposition of large bodies of the American people to the extension of slavery; and, more especially, their determination to seek, by all lawful means, the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law; and, in the meantime, by well-considered measures, to defeat, as far as possible, its malignant operation; this meeting, however, while it would express its entire sympathy with all who are thus engaged, would earnestly impress on them the still higher duty of zealously promoting the immediate and entire abolition of slavery in every part of their republic.

The Rev. THOMAS BINNEY seconded the resolution. He said he should put the question started by Mr. Owen, a little differently to what that gentleman had done: he should ask what had the slaveholders to do with the law of Moses at all? He looked upon that law, in connexion with the Mosaic dispensation, as a gradually progressive step in the Divine arrangements. But when the prophet stood up among the people, he was commissioned to proclaim the Divine will, to break every yoke, and let the oppressed go free [cheers]. That was the only fair way of putting this part of the question. An Orthodox minister, a Mr. Rogers, when a slave asked him to stand between him and his master, said, "This slave asks me to take a human life, and I will not do it, because I have a conscience, and because there is a God." He proceeded, however, to affirm that if resistance was made to the Fugitive Slave Law, and if the magistrates required help in the matter, their duty would be to obey, and, if ordered to take human life, to take it. How would such a man expound the parable of the Good Samaritan? [hear, hear.] Referring to the "Greek Slave" in the Great Exhibition, Mr. Binney said it really seemed to him as if the Americans were visited with a sort of judicial blindness in the selection. They saw the darkness looming over them in the distance, and then they exhibited the worst taste possible by placing a Greek slave there, and, beside the figure, placing a man to turn it round, precisely as they would do were they trafficking in human sinew and bone. He never saw before such an act of judicial blindness, illustrating and exhibiting a nation's own disgrace [hear, hear]. Some time ago, in a pro-slavery paper, appeared an advertisement to the following effect:—"Catch a minister!

250 dollars for any one who will catch a Methodist preacher." The advertisement proceeded to give a personal description of the individual. (The circumstances created great sensation among the audience while being described by Mr. Binney, who then resumed his seat amid the cheers of the assembly.)

The Rev. HENRY GARNETT, in rising to support the resolution, said, if he felt not every sentiment of liberty and humanity quickened within him, he must indeed be cold and dull [hear, hear]. He was happy to stand in Exeter Hall, in that old arena where, in other days, so many battles in Liberty's cause had been fought, and not only fought, but won [hear, hear, and cheers]. It had been said by their esteemed Chairman (Mr. Gurney) that it became them to be careful as to how they referred to the Americans, because they were such very touchy people [laughter, and cheers]. Well, he knew that, but these very touchy people had touched several who were on that platform, and he felt it was but right he should touch them a little [laughter]. Standing up, with unblushing front, before the world, she said she was not responsible for slavery, but that Great Britain was responsible. She, the mother country, it was falsely said, entailed upon America the whole responsibility of slaveholding, and America would gladly get rid of it if she could. Would an English audience believe this? He would not. The Americans were accustomed to say that the English understood not the principles of liberty and equality. They would point to their Declaration of Independence. Well, look at it as it floated upon every breeze of heaven. Those very principles England held as affecting all men created equal, and endowed with inalienable rights. How did the Americans carry out the principle they had themselves laid down? In 1776 there was a provision made in England for levying a tax upon America. The proclamation was made in Boston; and they instantly commenced a universal plan of drowning all the tea sent from England, that laid in their harbours. So much tea was drowned at the time that the harbour was nothing less than a gigantic teapot. Now, what was the reason of this? Because England had trespassed upon American liberty. America was standing firm to maintain a great principle—namely, that she would not endure the impost of the tax. At last the nations fought. The battle commenced at Concord, was carried on at Lexington, and reached to Bunker's-hill, until it reached to the South, and the whole country was in arms; the result being victory on the part of the Americans. Look again, and a few years after this battle and victory the scene becomes changed—thousands of their fellow-men are hurried to the decks, put on board vessels, crowded with grape shot to discharge from the cannon if a brother man do but raise his arm to rescue from slavery [hear, hear]. Boston was called the Cradle of Liberty. If it were the cradle, they had managed to rock the cradle so hard that it had killed the baby [loud laughter, and cheers]. Without being carried away by excitement, he would say that the stronghold of slavery—the bulwarks of American slavery rather—were founded within the American Church [hear]. At a period when mankind were adorning the Crystal Palace, and nations were gathered thither from various parts of the globe to pay their tribute to England, what had America done for the world? Calling herself the mother of Republicanism, she found France following her example, and she said, Look at France, she is our child. But let them compare America with France. Seventy years had passed in the Republic of America, and, during these seventy years of probation, some beautiful specimens of law had presented themselves! Among others, the Fugitive Slave Law. And France—what had she done with her Republic? Why, on the contrary, she proclaimed throughout her colonies the freedom of the slave, and struck off his chains and his shackles [tremendous cheering].

The CHAIRMAN, on putting the resolution, which was unanimously carried, stated that France presented a striking contrast to America, in that, upon emancipating her slaves, she had granted them likewise the elective franchise [loud cheers].

ELIHU BURRITT moved—

That looking at the fact that the demand for slave-produce in the markets of the world is one of the chief causes of perpetuating the atrocious system of slavery and the slave-trade, this meeting would recommend, as far as practicable, the disuse of such produce; and would call upon the friends of the enslaved, in every country, to encourage the consumption of such articles of commerce only as are produced by the compensated labour of free men.

WILLIAM HARRISON, Esq., seconded the resolution, which was put and carried.

The Rev. AMOS DRESSER moved—

That, notwithstanding the vicious legislation, the heavy and unjust taxation, and the serious disadvantages to which the emancipated classes in the British Colonies have been subjected since the period when slavery was abolished, this meeting are of opinion that there is ample evidence to prove that they have greatly increased in number, in intelligence, and in respectability; and would express the high gratification it has afforded them, to learn that they have, under many trying and painful circumstances, conducted themselves in such a manner as to entitle them to the respect, confidence, and good-will, of their friends in this country.

Mr. THOMAS BIDNOLD briefly seconded the resolution, which was put and adopted.

The usual vote of thanks being passed to the Chairman, the meeting separated.

FIRE AT SPITALFIELDS. — Several houses were destroyed, between three and four on Thursday morning, in the most densely populated portion of Spitalfields—Bacon-street, Brick-lane—most of them the habitations of industrious families. The origin of the fire will probably become a subject of investigation before the magistrates.

THE MIRROR OF PARLIAMENT.

PETITIONS PRESENTED.

Attorneys' Certificates, for the repeal of duty on, 2.
Beehives, for the suppression of, 1.
Church-rates, for the abolition of, 1.
Coal-whippers (for the Port of London) Bill, in favour of, 5.
Coroner, against abolishing the office of, 1.
Crystal Palace, for the preservation of, 40.
Education (Ireland) against the present system of, 29.
Metropolitan Interments Advances Bill, against, 1.
Medical Charities (Ireland) Bill, in favour of, 8.
Newspapers, for the abolition of burdens on, 1.
Patent Law Amendment Bill, for alterations in, 1.
Registration of Assurance Bill, against, 4.
Wesleyan Methodists, complaining of expulsion, and praying for redress, 1.

BILLS PRESENTED AND READ A FIRST TIME.

Lunatics (India) Bill.
New Zealand Settlement Bill.
Attorneys' and Solicitors' Regulation Act Amendment Bill.

BILLS READ A SECOND TIME.

Consolidated Fund Bill.
Patent Law Amendment Bill.
Metropolitan Interments Bill.
New Zealand Settlement Bill.
Lunatics (India) Bill.

BILLS READ A THIRD TIME.

Commons Enlosure (No 2) Bill.
Sheep, &c., Contagious Disease Prevention Bill.
Poor Law Relief Act Continuance Bill.
Battersea Park Amendment Extension Bill.
Emigration Advances, Distressed Districts (Scotland) Bill.
Commissioners of Railways Act Repeal Bill.

DEBATES.

NAVIGATION LAWS.

The following resolution was moved by Mr. HERRIES, on Thursday, as an amendment on the third reading of the Customs Bill:—

That an humble address be presented to her Majesty, praying that she will be graciously pleased to direct the proper steps to be taken for giving effect to those provisions of the act 19th and 18th Viet. c. 29 (for the repeal of the Navigation-laws), whereby her Majesty is empowered to adopt towards any foreign country in which a preference is given, directly or indirectly, to national vessels over British vessels, such measures as may appear to her Majesty justly to counteract the disadvantages to which British trade and navigation is so subjected.

In supporting this motion, he mentioned the petitions which he had presented from the port of London, with 260 signatures, comprising all the principal shipowners except two; from Liverpool, Glasgow, and other shipping towns. He adduced a mass of statistics to show that freight has diminished at the rate of 20, or even more than 50 per cent., since 1845; that the amount of British shipping employed in the foreign trade has diminished since 1849, by 43,000 tons outwards and 97,000 inwards, while foreign shipping has more than proportionately increased; and that in the general trade, imports and exports, which were increasing under protection, have latterly increased at a greatly increased rate—at the rate of only 6.75 per cent. instead of 30.25 per cent. He contended that before concessions, made to foreign states, reciprocal concessions should have been exacted; whereas to Sweden, Denmark, Holland, and other countries, almost everything had been yielded, and nothing substantial obtained in return. France, Spain, and Portugal, held back; and America had deluded us, in obtaining our intercolonial trade while she withholds her equivalent, her immense "coasting" trade.

Mr. LABOUCHERE met these arguments first by reminding Mr. Herries, that he himself had been assailed by exactly similar representations when he was associated with Mr. Huskisson. He also quoted recent speeches by Mr. G. F. Young, evincing that gentleman's hostility to reciprocity, and, therefore, his antagonism to Mr. Herries. There had been a corresponding decrease for 1850 in the exports and imports of the United States; and the lowering of freights was explained by the fact, that the removal of restrictions on trading with third countries enabled vessels which made voyages in ballast to diminish the cost by carrying cargoes in that part of their voyage. The British Consul at Philadelphia, in a despatch of the 12th of May, 1851, stated that out of 111 British ships entering the port in 1850, 18 came from a third country, which they could not have done before the repeal of the Navigation-laws. In the first four months of 1851, out of 50 British vessels entering Philadelphia, 15 brought cargoes from foreign ports. He added—"Vessels from British America, which, after disposing of their cargoes of fish in the West Indies, generally came to this country in ballast, now bring sugar and molasses, and then return homewards with cargoes of bread-stuffs." A new trade had been given to British shipping, by doing away with the absurd restrictions upon our trading with the United States. But for the relaxing of these restrictions, we should have lost the trade with California—a great and increasing trade. He saw that in one month no fewer than 18 ships had arrived from Australia with cargoes for San Francisco. More statistics established the fact that the progress of ship-building continues; although there was some diminution in numbers, the average tonnage was larger. Already considerable progress had been made with negotiations for reciprocal treaties: we had obtained reciprocity with the Baltic powers, Holland, Sardinia, the United States, &c., and negotiations were proceeding with France, Spain, and Belgium.

Mr. G. F. YOUNG followed up Mr. Herries's arguments, but extending them in favour of absolute protection. The most telling point in his speech was the statement, that in 1850, 1,000 ships left the United States for California, many of them intended to take away our Eastern trade. Mr. JAMES WILSON followed in support of Mr. Labouchere.

Mr. DISRAELI, after ridiculing the announcement that negotiations are proceeding with so small a

number as three foreign states, accepted that announcement as a difficulty in the way of the motion. Under these circumstances, he thought his right honourable friend, having obtained a full discussion of the question—[cries of "oh, oh!"]. He had no doubt that gentlemen on the back benches of the Ministerial side of the House, who were not in office, and, therefore, not responsible, were prepared for anything, even for interference with negotiations now in progress; but the Opposition had some responsibility [oh, oh!]. When the Government virtually stated that the proposed amendment would interfere with negotiations with three powers, he could not see how, after that, it could be proceeded with, and he hoped his right honourable friend would not press it to a division [oh, oh!].

Lord JOHN RUSSELL sarcastically noticed this sudden discovery of a difficulty. After a few remarks from Colonel THOMPSON against the motion, and from Mr. WAWN and Mr. MUNTZ for it, the motion was by leave withdrawn.

ECCLESIASTICAL TITLES BILL.

On Friday, the Lords commenced and concluded the consideration of this bill in committee—getting through its most tedious stage, to the lower House, in a single sitting. At the outset Lord MONTAGUE put a string of questions to the Lord Chancellor, with the apparent object of eliciting an admission that, as the appointment of Roman Catholic bishops in Ireland was declared to be void and null, all clerical acts performed under them must be equally so. The Lord CHANCELLOR was more dexterously evasive than clear in reply. The bill, he said, creates no new laws, but only declares the existing law; the Papal instrument being null and void, all emanating from it must be so; but "much would depend on time and circumstance." Unsatisfied with this explanation, Lord MONTAGUE went on to show that, offended at what had been done by the "Archbishop of Westminster," they were going to revenge themselves on the "Archbishop of Dublin," and to lay Ireland under an interdict; and therefore he moved an instruction to the committee to exempt Ireland from the operation of the bill. The Lord CHANCELLOR made a second explanation, avowing that the bill would not interfere with the spiritual jurisdiction of bishops. The instruction was supported by Lord CAMOIS. Viscount CANNING, the Earl of ST. GERMAN, and the Earl of WICKLOW, condemned the operation of the bill in Ireland; but could not support the instruction, because it drew a distinction between the supremacy of the Crown in two parts of the United Kingdom. The bill, as it stood, was supported by Lord CRANWORTH, who said explicitly that it would not endanger the validity of marriages; by the Bishop of Osnory, who maintained that "the Established Church in Ireland is the only successor and representative of the ancient Church;" by the Marquis of CLANRICARDE; and very briefly by Lord LANSDOWNE. On a division the instruction was negatived by 82 to 17.

A good deal of criticism was indulged on specific parts of the bill by the Earl of Aberdeen and the Earl of Ellenborough. The inconsistency of its provisions, their alternative intolerance and impotency, were exposed for the hundredth time. Lord ABERDEEN pointed out that the word "otherwise" prohibited the appointment of any bishops, and yet they exempted the bishops of the Scottish Episcopal Church. The Earl of ELLENBOROUGH showed that, in the second clause, the important word "shall" was omitted, and the words "such bull" were inserted, no bull having previously been mentioned. The Duke of ARGYLL strongly objected to the provision which enables any informer to sue for the penalty, and he moved to omit it. The Lord CHANCELLOR ascribed the insertion of that clause to the opposition in the Commons and the absence of the Irish members. That was no reason, said the Duke of NEWCASTLE, why the Peers should neglect their duty. But in fact, he added, Ministers were afraid to let a word of the bill be altered, lest the other House should have an opportunity of revising it. The amendment was negatived by 61 to 26. The first clause had been carried by 77 to 26; and the remaining clauses and preamble were adopted by a majority impatient of a sitting prolonged to the unusual hour of midnight.

THE JEWISH MEMBERS AND THEIR CONSTITUENTS.

Petitions from the electors of Greenwich and London, praying to be heard at the bar of the House of Commons by counsel, on behalf of the right of their elected members to sit in the House, were presented on Thursday evening, but it was arranged that no proceedings upon them should be taken till Monday, when the adjourned debate on Lord John Russell's motion might also be resumed.

On Monday, the SPEAKER read to the House the following letter from the hon. member for Greenwich:—

Great Cumberland-place, Friday, July 25.

SIR,—I am advised that it is my duty respectfully to inform you and the House that two actions at law under the statute have been commenced against me for penalties alleged to be incurred by me for having exercised, on Monday last, my right of sitting and voting in the House of Commons, as member for Greenwich, and that, at the trial of those actions, any resolution or proceeding which the House may adopt can be given in that action. With the greatest respect, I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient servant,

The Right Hon. the Speaker.

DAVID SALOMONS.

Sir B. HALL then called attention to the petition of the electors of Greenwich, and moved that its prayer be complied with. The ATTORNEY-GENERAL opposed the motion; the subject had been well considered and very fully discussed in two sessions of Parliament, and it could not be expected that counsel would throw any additional light upon the question. Mr. ANSTAY argued that the House was

pushing its privileges too far, and counsel would endeavour to show that the resolution was repugnant to the law of the land; by refusing to hear the advocates of the petitioners in support of their rights, the House would violate the forms as well as the substance of justice. Sir F. THURGER noticed as an objection on the face of the petition, that the petitioners prayed to be heard in defence of their undoubted right to be represented by the representative they had chosen. This right had never been disputed; the question was, whether the representative they had chosen had qualified himself by law to sit in that House. Mr. C. VILLIERS spoke in favour of the motion; Mr. NEWDEGATE, Sir J. HANMER, and Sir R. INGLES, against it. Mr. AGLIOTBY thought delay was desirable, considering that the House was acting in a judicial capacity, and that its resolution would be evidence in a court of law. Lord J. RUSSELL, being called upon, was perfectly willing to state his opinion, which was that the electors of Greenwich, in supposing that their rights were interfered with, had misapprehended the question before the House. A member returned to that House must comply with the conditions which the law required; it was thought that Mr. Alderman Salomons had not complied with those conditions; and this was a matter which concerned, not Greenwich only, but the whole kingdom. After some remarks by Mr. Alderman SIDNEY and Mr. M'GREGOR in favour of the motion, it was upon a division rejected by 135 against 70.

Mr. R. CURRIE forebore to repeat the same motion in the case of Baron de Rothschild, urging Lord J. Russell at the same time to bring forward a measure next session for securing to the electors of the kingdom their indefeasible right to return to that House the men they deemed best fitted to represent their interests. Mr. ANSTAY, however, moved that the petition from the electors of the city of London, in the matter of Baron de Rothschild, be taken into consideration, and that the petitioners be heard by counsel at the bar, in pursuance of the prayer of their petition. Mr. AGLIOTBY supported this motion. Mr. R. CURRIE, at some length, and in a satirical strain, justified his proceeding as chairman of the meeting of city electors, and in relation to the petition, on which the prayer to be heard by counsel had been foisted by Mr. Anstey and Mr. Aglionby. Mr. OSBORNE rebuked Mr. Currie for this misrepresentation of the electors of London, and supported the motion; as did Mr. HOBHOUSE. On a division it was negatived by 97 against 41.

The adjourned debate upon the resolution moved by Lord J. RUSSELL, and the amendment by Mr. G. THOMPSON, was resumed by Mr. ANSTAY, who re-argued the main question, and called upon the House to mitigate the effect of the resolution by appending to it the amendment, pledging the House to make such alteration in the words of the oath as would enable Mr. Salomons to subscribe it. Mr. HEADLAM considered that great as were the evils attending the exclusion of Mr. Salomons, there was only one constitutional mode of remedying the evil—by legislation. Mr. J. EVANS, from a recapitulation of the enactments in reference to the oath of abjuration, deduced the conclusion, that the legislature meant, in imposing the words, that they should be varied according to circumstances. Upon a division the amendment was negatived by 88 against 50.

Mr. BETHELL, in opposing the resolution, reproached Lord J. Russell with fighting the battle of his adversaries by yielding to a technical objection, perverting mere formal words to a purpose alien from the intention of Parliament. The House was now interpreting a statute, and not having, like the other House, the opportunity of consulting the judges, instead of adopting a resolution which would not conclude the matter, should have left the question to the proper tribunals. In the case of the Rev. Horne Tooke, pending the decision of the question as to his title to a seat, the House allowed him to sit and to vote. He hoped the noble lord would withdraw his resolution, and that the House would suspend its determination until the question was decided in a court of law. Lord J. RUSSELL observed that Mr. Bethell had dexterously eluded the legal difficulty in this case, which convinced him that he had misgivings upon that point. This was not an original resolution—the House was only asked to re-assert the resolution of last year. He had no objection to taking the opinion of a court of law upon a question properly belonging thereto; but the question before the House was not within the province of a court of law. If the actions against Mr. Salomons should throw any new light upon the question, there was no reason why the House of Commons should not avail itself of it. Mr. ANSTAY again pressed the enactment of the 1st and 2nd Viet., of which the noble lord, he remarked, had taken no notice, and which, he repeated, settled the question. He urged that the resolution be withdrawn until next session. Mr. J. A. SMITH likewise opposed the resolution, protesting against the argument in its favour derived from the vote of last year. The House divided, when the resolution was carried by a majority of 55—123 against 68.

MISCELLANEOUS.

SMITHFIELD MARKET REMOVAL BILL.—In the Lords, on Monday, the Earl of GRANVILLE moved that the compensation clauses which had been inserted in this bill by the Select Committee should be struck out. Lord POWIS, the Bishop of Osnory, Lord SALISBURY, and Lord HAREWOOD, urged the right of the Corporation to compensation; while Lord GRANVILLE's motion was supported by Lord LANSDALE, Lord SYDNEY, Lord BEAUMONT, and Lord CRANWORTH, and ultimately adopted by a majority of 44—59 to 16.

NEW HOUSE OF COMMONS.—The Commons met

in their new chamber on Thursday, for the first time this session. The accommodation has been considerably enlarged, by adding seats to the members' galleries, widening the division-lobbies, &c. The House, it is computed, will now hold 712 persons. The ceiling has been somewhat lowered, and made hexagonal instead of horizontal. The hearing seemed to be good. The windows of stained glass display the arms of forty-eight cities and boroughs; and arms are gradually to be added in vacant spots. The prevailing hues are dark brown oak and dark green leather.

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE CONSTITUTION.—In reply to questions by Mr. ADDERLEY, Lord JOHN RUSSELL has stated, that the draft constitution would be sent out to the Cape complete in its details; that it would not be drawn up from any scheme now before the House; and that most likely it would not be ready before the session closed. He also said that it would contain no provision for a separation of the two provinces; and that it would be left to the Legislature to consider the separation. The draft constitution might be altered by the Legislative Council, and must be referred home for final sanction. It would depend on the circumstances and probable duration of the Kafir war whether the constitution would be sent out before the termination of that war.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK'S INCOME.—Sir B. HALL having revived the subject of Episcopal incomes, Lord JOHN RUSSELL read to the House a letter from the Archbishop of York, explaining his financial relation with the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. If it were intended that he should, under all circumstances, pay £2,500 a-year, he said, unquestionably he had not paid what was due; but if his clear income was to be, as the order in Council declared, £10,000 a-year, then he had paid more than was due. In the three years ending 1850, he had paid only £3,750, instead of £7,500; by paying which, his income would only have been £23,551, instead of £30,000; but in point of fact, he had received only £27,301, instead of £30,000.

THE METROPOLITAN SEWERS COMMISSION.—The Chancellor of the Exchequer moved at past two o'clock on Friday morning, the second reading of the Metropolitan Sewers Bill, representing its object to be, to continue the present Commission for the shortest possible time, and to do as little as possible pending the inquiry now going forward. After a brisk debate, of a rather personal character, between Lord Ebrington, the members for Marylebone, and Mr. Wakley, the motion was agreed to.

IRISH BUSINESS.—On Friday, Mr. REYNOLDS moved the adjournment of the House at its rising over Saturday, and, under cover of that motion, he made a long speech, full of invective against the Government—denouncing the procrastination of Irish business, the neglect of the interests of Ireland, the mal-administration of the Poor-law, and the wholesale slaughter of the people in workhouses. Lord JOHN RUSSELL raised a laugh by replying that it was for the sake of Irish business he opposed the motion. After an hour and a half's discussion, the motion was withdrawn.

THE PATENT LAW AMENDMENT BILL was read a second time, after an explanation by the ATTORNEY-GENERAL, of its provisions. Under its operation an inventor will be empowered to lodge a provisional specification, and he will then receive patent protection for six, or, in certain cases, for nine months; which would supersede the necessity for the present secrecy. A board of examiners will be appointed, consisting of scientific persons, to decide on the continuation of patents or the objections alleged, with appeal to the law officers of the Crown. Patents of inventors will be classified and registered; and an enabling re-inventors to ascertain prior discovery and avoid loss. Patents will be refused to inventions already practised in foreign countries; though some compensation might be devised in mitigation for the introducer.

PURCHASE OF SUBURBAN CEMETERIES.—The Chancellor of the Exchequer moved the second reading of a bill to lend £130,000 out of the Consolidated Fund for the purchase of the Brompton and Nunhead Cemeteries by the Board of Health. A severe censure was cast on Government and the Board for this miserable instalment of the reformation promised by the Metropolitan Interments Bill. The motion, however, was carried by 60 to 26.

THE MEDICAL CHARITIES (IRELAND) BILL was in considered in committee on Monday; and Sir SOMERVILLE at length consented to confine it to dispensaries, rather than abandon it for the session. Valuation (Ireland) Bill was postponed—virtually withdrawn.

CONVEYANCE OF MAILS BY RAILWAY.—The bill for the Post-office greater facilities for the conveyance of mails was considered in committee. The representatives of the railway interest opposed the clause, and ultimately it was rejected by a majority of 3—56 to 53.

NEW ZEALAND SETTLEMENTS BILL.—At two o'clock on Friday morning, Mr. HAWES introduced a bill, but it was opposed by Mr. GLADSTONE, and PEAKER ruled that it should have been introduced in committee. It was accordingly withdrawn, introduced on Saturday, read a first time, and at midnight on Monday read a second time. Its object is to sanction the doubtful exercise of powers of the New Zealand Company.

ATTORNEYS' CERTIFICATE BILL has been thrown overboard the second reading, and the Registration of Companies Bill postponed till next session.

[ADVERTISEMENT.]—We take pleasure in bringing to the notice of our readers, a remedy which has the merit of being at once nice, safe, speedy, and sure (without medicine, inconvenience, or expense, as a saving fifty times its cost in other more expensive remedies), for dyspepsia (indigestion), constipation, diarrhoea, nausea, and sickness during pregnancy, at sea, or under any other circumstances, acidity, heartburn, flatulency, distension, hemorrhoidal affections, nervous, bilious, and liver complaints, palpitation of the heart, cramps, spasms, headaches, derangement of the kidneys and bladder, cough, asthma, dropsy, serofula, consumption, debility, paralysis, depression of spirits, &c. DU BARRY'S REVALENTA ARABICA FOOD, which is easily prepared, even on board ship, or in a desert, is the best food for invalids and delicate infants, as it never turns acid on the weakest stomach, but imparts a healthy relish for lunch and dinner, and restores the faculty of digestion and muscular energy to the most enfeebled. It has the highest approbation of Lord Stuart de Decies; the Venerable Archdeacon Alexander Stuart, of Ross—a cure of three years' nervousness; Major-General Thomas King, of Exmouth; Captain Parker D. Bingham, R.N., London, who was cured of twenty-seven years' dyspepsia in six weeks' time; Captain Andrews, R.N.; Captain Edwards, R.N.; William Hunt, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, King's College, Cambridge, who, after suffering sixty years from partial paralysis, has regained the use of his limbs in a very short time upon this excellent food; the Rev. Charles Kerr, of Winslow, Bucks—a cure of functional disorders; the Rev. Thomas Minster, of St. Saviour's, Leeds—a cure of five years' nervousness, with spasms and daily vomitings; Mr. Taylor, Coroner of Bolton; Doctors Ure and Harvey; James Shorland, Esq., No. 3, Sydney-terrace, Reading, Berks, late Surgeon in the 96th Regiment—a cure of dropsy; James Porter, Esq., Athol-street, Perth—a cure of thirteen years' cough, with general debility; and many well-known individuals, who have sent the discoverers and importers, Du Barry and Co., 127, New Bond-street, London, testimonials of the extraordinary manner in which their health has been restored by this useful and economical diet, after all other remedies had been tried in vain for many years, and all hopes of recovery abandoned. A full report of important cures of the above complaints, and testimonials from parties of the highest respectability, is, we find, sent gratis by Du Barry and Co.—See Advertisement.

BIRTHS.

July 22, at Westwood Cottage, Enfield, the wife of the Rev. S. J. SMITH, B.A., of a son.
July 23, the wife of Dr. LANKESTER, F.R.S., Old Burlington-street, of a son.
July 24, at Melbourn, Cambridgeshire, the wife of the Rev. A. C. WRIGHT, of a son.
July 27, the wife of the Rev. J. YOUNG, of Chulmleigh, Devon, of a daughter.
July 28, at Pentonville, the wife of Mr. HENRY WELTON, of a daughter.

MARRIAGES.

July 23, at Zion Chapel, King's-inn-street, Dublin, by the Rev. J. Stoyan, Mr. WILLIAM CAMERON to Miss ELIZA BROWN, both of Dublin.
July 24, at Holloway Chapel, (Rev. A. J. Morris's), by the Rev. G. B. Thomas, Mr. ALFRED KEELING, of 30, St. Paul's Churchyard, to EMMA, youngest daughter of Mr. ALBERT COCKSHAW, of Islington.
July 29, at the Independent Chapel, Oxford, by the Rev. E. E. Bryan, ALFRED, son of J. BANNISTER, Esq., surgeon, Havant, to SARAH, daughter of Mr. J. HALL, of Oxford.

DEATHS.

July 1, at Bangor, North Wales, aged 19, THOMAS CHARLES HUGHES, eldest son of Mr. H. Hughes, artist, and pupil of Mr. John Hughes, surgeon, of Carmarthen.
July 13, after an illness of only a few days, aged 46 years, the Rev. H. J. WILLIAMS, Baptist minister, of Southsea, near Portsmouth.
July 16, at Stoke Newington, in the 66th year of her age, JANE, the wife of P. THOMSON, formerly of Boston, Lincolnshire, and many years a resident of the city of Washington, United States.
July 19, after a few days' illness, at the residence of her brother, in King-street, Covent-garden, Miss BAILEY, formerly of Chichester.
July 21, at 12, Haberdasher-place, West Hoxton, Mrs. SARAH LEONARD, wife of Mr. Thomas Leonard, of the Bank of England.
July 23, drowned while bathing at Tynemouth, aged 30, Captain ISAAC WATT, the youngest son of Mr. H. Watt, of Irvine.
July 24, at Sunderlandwick, in her 66th year, URSULA, relict of the late H. REYNARD, Esq., of Sunderlandwick and Hobgreen, in the county of York.

MONEY MARKET AND COMMERCIAL INTELLIGENCE.

CITY, TUESDAY EVENING.

We have hardly anything to report this week in connexion either with the Stock or Money Markets, than the mere progress of prices; and as these remain for nearly every denomination of stock much as when we left them last week, it may be presumed that there is little room for enlargement under this head. Some good money purchases were made in Consols, towards the end of last week, Exchequer Bills being sold by many parties in order to invest in the funded security. This caused a decline in the Unfunded Debt of 1s., from which it has not since recovered. Bank Stock has risen.

PROGRESS OF THE STOCKS:—

	Wed.	Thurs.	Friday.	Sat.	Monday.	Tues.
3 per Ct. Cons.	96½	96½	96½	96½	96½	96½
Cons. for Acct.	96½	96½	96½	96½	96½	96½
3 per Ct. Red.	97½	97½	97½	97½	97½	97½
New 3½ per Ct.						
Annuities...	98½	98½	98½	97½	99	99
India Stock...	263	261½	261½	—	—	263
Bank Stock...	215½	216	216½	216½	215½	216½
Exchq. Bills...	52 pm.	49 pm.	49 pm.	51 pm.	51 pm.	50 pm.
India Bonds...	59 pm.	61 pm.	—	62 pm.	58 pm.	60 pm.
Long Annuity...	7 7-16	7½	7½	—	—	7 7-16

The Foreign Market has been very dull, the tendency of prices being downward. Mexican, however, has rallied, in consequence of the receipt of a letter from M. Payno, the Mexican Minister in England, in which he expresses his surprise at the late decline in this stock, and assures the committee that the Mexican Government will punctually fulfil its engagements.

The Railway Market—which may now be considered the fittest type of the changeable condition of all sublimary affairs, has gone through another panic since we last wrote; a reaction, however, has taken place, and prices are now very little the worse for the change. No cause can be assigned for the panic. It was as groundless as it was precipitate. The traffic returns show the total receipts for the week to be £338,147, against £276,714 last year.

But a moderate amount of business has been transacted in the Produce Markets. Sugar is sixpence lower. Coffee has been held more firmly, but purchasers do not yet come forward freely. Foreign is in demand for export. Tea was very flat early in the week, but is looking up a little since. Rice has been in demand at fully previous rates. Cotton has ruled very heavy. Tallow has risen slightly, and wool goes off briskly. The sales of the latter will last till August 16.

Trade in the provinces is very steady, and the Corn Market, notwithstanding the rain, is firm.

THE GAZETTE:

Friday, July 25.

The following buildings are certified as places duly registered for solemnizing marriages, pursuant to an act of the 6th and 7th William IV., c. 85:—

Pavement Chapel, New North-road, Hoxton.
Glamorgan-street Chapel, Brecon.

BANKRUPTCY ANNULLED.

BUDDLE, WILLIAM, Irongate-wharf, Paddington, timber merchant.

BANKRUPT.

ALLANSON, JOSEPH, Kirby Moorside, York-shire, draper, August 15, September 5: solicitors, Messrs. Shackless and Son, Hull.

BATESON, JOHN NURTHING, Rochdale, cotton spinner, August 5 and 26: solicitors, Mr. Harper, Burry, Lancashire; and Mr. Bennett, Manchester.

BOW, ROBERT, Selby, Yorkshire, grocer, August 15, September 5: solicitors, Messrs. Weddall and Parker, Selby; and Messrs. Bond and Barwick, Leeds.

ELLIS, HENRY JAMES, Rotherhithe-wall, ironmonger, August 6, September 3: solicitor, Mr. Carpenter, Old Broad-street City.

HAMMOND, THOMAS, Conduit-street, Westbourne-terrace, Paddington, bootmaker, August 1, September 3: solicitor, Mr. Hartley, Southampton-street, Bloomsbury.

ILAM, THOMAS, and WANOSTROCHT, VINCENT WANOSTROCHT, Liverpool, brokers, August 7, September 5: solicitors, Messrs. Sharp, Field, and Jackson, London; and Messrs. Miller and Peel, Liverpool.

RICHARDS, WILLIAM BENJAMIN, West Bromwich, grocer, August 9 and 26: solicitors, Mr. Holland, West Bromwich; and Mr. Hodgson, Birmingham.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

CARSWELL, A., Greenock, shipbuilder, July 31, August 31.
GRANT, J., Glasgow, manufacturer, July 31, August 22.

Tuesday, July 29.

The following building is certified as a place duly registered for solemnizing marriages, pursuant to an act of the 6th and 7th William IV., c. 85:—

Methodist New Connexion Chapel, Newark-upon-Trent.

BANKRUPTS.

DAVIS, EDWARD, Northampton, carrier, August 6, September 6: solicitor, Mr. Heath, Artillery-place West, Finsbury.

DAW, BETSY, Lumborn Mills, Devonshire, miller, August 7, September 18: solicitor, Mr. Elworthy, Plymouth.

GATER, EDWIN, Aylesford, Kent, grocer, August 6, September 6: solicitors, Messrs. Wilton and Blackman, Raymond-building, Gray's-inn-lane.

HEATH, ROBERT, WELCH, WILLIAM, and BARBER, JOHN HEATH, Tunstall, Staffordshire, ironmasters, August 16, September 2: solicitors, Messrs. Stanley and Co., Newcastle-under-Lyme; and Messrs. Mottram and Co., Birmingham.

HERRING, EDWARD, Trinity-street, Southwark, manufacturing chemist, August 7, September 11: solicitor, Mr. Wood, Falcon-street, Aldersgate.

HINTON, ALFRED, Portsmouth, stationer, August 6, September 6: solicitors, Messrs. Weir and Smith, Coopers'-hall, Basinghall-street.

ILAM, THOMAS, and WANOSTROCHT, VINCENT, Liverpool, brokers, August 7, September 5: solicitors, Messrs. Sharp and Co., London; and Messrs. Miller and Peel, Liverpool.

KEEPING, RICHARD, Ryde, Isle of Wight, watchmaker, August 7, September 17: solicitor, Mr. Whittington, Dean-street, Finsbury-square.

KING, THOMAS JOHN, Stourport, Worcestershire, innkeeper, August 12, September 9: solicitors, Mr. Watson, Stourport; and Mr. Hodgson, Birmingham.

LEVY, WALTER, White's-row, Spitalfields, macaroni and vermicelli manufacturer, August 4, September 6: solicitors, Messrs. Jenkinson and Co., Lombard-street.

LIMBIRD, JOHN, Strand, stationer, August 8, September 11: solicitor, Mr. Smith, Basinghall-street.

PHILLIPS, DAVID, Cardiff, Glamorganshire, linen-draper, August 13, September 10: solicitor, Mr. Bevan, Bristol.

SEARLE, JOHN, Brixham, Devonshire, builder, August 12, September 17: solicitor, Mr. Stogden, Exeter.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

ALLAN, JOHN, jun., Glasgow, oil merchant, August 4, 25.
COCHRANE, JOHN, Large, August 2, 23.

EDMOND, ANDREW, and GIBB, ALEXANDER JOHN, Edinburgh, stock brokers, August 4, September 1.

LEVY, ANDREW ROBERT, and PATON, WILLIAM, Glasgow, manufacturers, August 4, 25.

ROSS, JOHN, Portleith, Ross-shire, farmer, August 5, 26.

DIVIDENDS.

Edward Briggs, Castletown Mills, near Rochdale, Lancashire, hatter, 1st div. of 8d., July 31, and any subsequent Thursday, at Mr. Lee's, Manchester.—William Edmond, Liverpool and Bombay, East Indies, merchants, 2nd div. of 2s., July 31, and any subsequent Thursday, at Mr. Lee's, Manchester.—William Edmond, Thomas Edmond, and Robert M'Kinn, Liverpool, and Bombay, East Indies, merchants, 4th div. of 4d., July 31, and any subsequent Thursday, at Mr. Lee's, Manchester.—Friedrich Ernst Daniel Hast, Aldermanbury, City, merchant, 1st div. of 5s., August 4, and any subsequent Monday, at Mr. Cannan's, Birchin-lane.—George Straight, final div. of 6d., July 29, and any subsequent Tuesday, at Mr. Pennell's, Guildhall-chamber.—John Watson, Sunderland, ship builder, 1st div. of 5s., August 2, and any subsequent Saturday, at Mr. Baker's, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.—Richard Woolfall, Warrington, Lancashire, butcher, 1st div. of 2½d., July 31, and any subsequent Thursday, at Mr. Lee's, Manchester.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

MONEY.

THE ADVERTISER, a Member of an established Building Society, has the right to an advance of £500, WITHOUT INTEREST, which he will dispose of on liberal terms in one or more sums. Apply, by letter only, to A. Z., 2, Courtney-terrace, Kingsland.

PHONETIC MEETING—EXETER HALL.

A PUBLIC MEETING, in behalf of Phonetic Spelling, will be held on Wednesday next, August 6th, in the Lower Room, Exeter Hall, at half-past seven o'clock. The meeting will be addressed by Messrs. Isaac Pitman, and A. J. Ellis, and other well known friends of the cause. Admission free, by ticket, to be obtained at the Phonetic Depot, 20, Paternoster-row, and at the Phonographic Institution, 316, Holborn.

A TEA MEETING will be held at six o'clock, to which phonographers and their friends are respectfully invited. Tickets, price 1s. 6d., may be obtained at the above mentioned places.

TO SCHOOLMASTERS, PARENTS, &c. &c.

THE GUTTA PERCHA COMPANY

HAVE BEEN FAVOURED WITH THE FOLLOWING LETTER FROM

LIEUTENANT ROUSE,

SUPERINTENDENT OF THE GREENWICH HOSPITAL SCHOOLS.

GREENWICH HOSPITAL SCHOOLS, July 16th, 1850.
I have for the last three years worn Gutta Percha Soles, and from the comfort experienced in the wear generally, particularly in regard to dry feet, and also in durability and consequent economy, I was induced to recommend the Commissioners Greenwich Hospital, to sanction its use in this Establishment, instead of Leather Soles. It has now been Six Months in general use here, so that I am, from experience in the wear and tear of Shoes for EIGHT HUNDRED BOYS, able to speak with confidence as to its utility, which, in my belief, is very great; and I am looking forward to its being the means, during the next Winter, of preventing chilblains, from which we have greatly suffered.

I have much pleasure in giving this testimony, and you have my permission to make it as public as you please, in the belief that it cannot but be doing good.

I remain, your faithful Servant,

JOHN WOOD ROUSE, LIEUT. SUPERINTENDENT.

FROM

LIEUT. COLONEL F. R. BLAKE,

THIRTY-THIRD REGIMENT.

NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE, July 16th, 1850.

In reply to your letter requesting my opinion with regard to Gutta Percha Soles, I have great pleasure in informing you, that I have made particular enquiries on the subject from those Soldiers of the 33rd Regiment, who have worn them during the past year, and they decidedly give the preference to the Gutta Percha Soles, both for comfort and durability. I have also constantly worn them myself, and can therefore speak from my own knowledge of the superior advantages of Gutta Percha Soles.

I am, your obedient servant,

F. R. BLAKE, LIEUT. COL., 33RD REGIMENT.

IMPORTANT TO GARDENERS, &c.

The Gutta Percha Company have been favoured with the following Letter

G. GLENNY, ESQ.,

THE CELEBRATED FLORIST.

Country Gentleman Office, 426, Strand, London, August 21, 1850.

GENTLEMEN,—I have worn Gutta Percha Soles and Heels three years, and being so much in a garden as I necessarily am in all weathers, and with the ground in all states, I would on no account be without them. As a matter of economy I would recommend Gardeners to use them, for they may repair the worn part at all times by warming the material at the fire, and pressing it from the thick parts to the worn parts, as easily as if it were so much dough. I think it the duty of all persons who must occasionally wet their feet, to adopt a material that completely defies damp. Many a Gardener would escape colds and rheumatism by the use of Gutta Percha Soles.

Your obedient servant,

G. GLENNY.

The Gutta Percha Company, Patentees, 18, Wharf Road, City Road, London.

ELEGANCE, DURABILITY, HEALTH, AND ECONOMY.

HUBBUCK'S PATENT WHITE ZINC PAINT,
THE WHITEST OF ALL PAINTS.

THIS is the favourite pigment of the Artist, named PERMANENT WHITE, hitherto restricted to costly decorations.

Unrivalled in beauty, it is permanent, even when exposed to vapour from Cesspools or noxious Gases.

For Fresco, Enamel, imitations of ALABASTER, delicate TRACERY, and other works of the DECORATIVE ARTIST, it possesses advantages which no other Paint can supply.

It may be tinted to any shade, and imparts brightness and clearness to other colours.

One peculiar characteristic is the astonishing brilliancy its reflective power produces in an illuminated building.

Healthful to the Painter, and to the occupants of newly-painted rooms.

Cheaper than the poisonous Paints, from Two Cwt. covering as much work as Three Cwt. of White Lead.

* Each Cask is stamped—"HUBBUCK, LONDON, PATENT."

A CIRCULAR, with full particulars, may be had of the Manufacturers,

THOMAS HUBBUCK AND SON, COLOUR WORKS,

OPPOSITE THE LONDON DOCKS.

Specimens of the Paint may be seen at the Office of the Artizan Journal, 69, Cornhill.

BEAUTIFUL HAIR, WHISKERS, EYEBROWS, &c.,

May be, with certainty, obtained by using a very small portion of

ROSALIE COUPELLE'S PARISIAN

POMADE every morning, instead of any oil or other preparation. A fortnight's use will, in most instances, show its surprising properties in producing and curling Whiskers, Hair, &c., at any age, from whatever cause deficient; as also checking greyness, &c. For Children it is indispensable, forming the basis of a beautiful head of Hair, and rendering the use of the small comb unnecessary. Persons who have been deceived by ridiculously-named imitations of this Pomade, will do well to make One Trial of the genuine preparation, which they will never regret.

Price 2s. per pot, sent post free, with instructions, &c., on receipt of 24 postage stamps by Madame COUPELLE, Ely-place, Holborn, London; or it may be obtained of the Agents.

IMPORTANT NOTICE.—None is genuine unless the signature, "ROSALIE COUPELLE," is in red letters on a white ground on the stamp round each package of her preparations.

TESTIMONIALS,

which, with many others, may be seen at the Establishment.

Miss Jackson, 14, Lee-street, Chorlton, Manchester.—"I have used one box; my hair in one place had fallen off, it is now grown surprisingly."

Lieut. Holroyd, R.N., writes:—"Its effects are truly astonishing; it has thickened and darkened my hair very much."

Mr. Canning, 129, Northgate, Wakefield.—"I have found your Pomade the best yet. The only good about the others is their singular names."

Mr. Yates, hair dresser, Malton.—"The young man has now a good pair of whiskers. I want you to send me two pots for other customers."

PURE LIQUID HAIR DYE.

Madame COUPELLE feels the utmost confidence in recommending her LIQUID HAIR DYE, which is undoubtedly the most perfect and efficient one ever discovered. It is a pure Liquid, that changes hair of all colours, in three minutes, to any shade required, from light auburn to jet black, so beautifully natural as to defy detection; it does not stain the skin, is most easily applied, and free from any objectionable quality. It needs only to be used once, producing a permanent dye. Persons who have been deceived by useless preparations (dangerous to the head, hair, &c.), will find this dye unexceptionable.

Price 3s. 6d. per bottle. Sent post free on receipt of 48 postage stamps by Madame COUPELLE, or of the Agents.

James Thompson, Esq., Middleton.—"I have tried your invaluable Dye, and find it to answer the highest expectations."

N.B.—Any of the above will be sent (free) per return of post, on receipt of the price in postage stamps, by Madame COUPELLE, 35, Ely-place, Holborn-hill, London, where she may be consulted on the above matters daily, from 9 till 5 o'clock.

LADIES' STRAW BONNETS

Elegantly trimmed.

MILLINERY BONNETS

of the most fashionable kinds.

SWISS FANCY STRAWS, 3s. 9d. to 18s. 6d.

DUNSTABLES, 1s. to 10s. 6d.

BETHEL WARE,

Straw and Millinery Bonnet Manufacturer,
217, TOTTENHAM-COURT-ROAD,
Wholesale Warehouse, 62, Aldermanbury, City.

NO MORE PILLS NOR ANY OTHER DRUGS.

50,000 CURES BY DU BARRY'S

REVALENTA ARABICA FOOD,

a pleasant and effectual remedy (without medicine, inconvenience, or expense, as it saves fifty times its cost in other means of cure).

Testimonials from parties of unquestionable respectability have attested that it supercedes medicine of every description in the effectual and permanent removal of indigestion (dyspepsia), constipation, and diarrhoea, nervousness, biliousness, liver complaint, flatulency, distension, palpitation of the heart, nervous headache, deafness, noises in the head and ears, pains in the chest, between the shoulders, and in almost every part of the body, chronic inflammation and ulceration of the stomach, angina pectoris, erysipelas, eruptions on the skin, incipient consumption, dropsy, rheumatism, gout, heartburn, nausea, sickness during pregnancy, after eating, or at sea, low spirits, spasms, cramps, spleen, general debility, paralysis, asthma, cough, inquietude, sleeplessness, involuntary blushing, tremors, dislike to society, uneasiness for study, loss of memory, delusions, vertigo, blood to the head, exhaustion, melancholy, groundless fear, indecision, wretchedness, thoughts of self-destruction, and many other complaints. It is, moreover, admitted by those who have used it, to be the best food for infants and invalids generally, as it never turns acid on the weakest stomach, nor interferes with a good liberal diet, but imparts a healthy relish for lunch and dinner, and restores the faculty of digestion, and muscular and nervous energy, to the most enfeebled.

For the benefit of our readers we place before them a synopsis of a few of 50,000 Testimonials received by Mr. Du Barry upon the invariable efficacy of his Revalenta Arabica Food.

But the health of many invalids having been fearfully impaired by spurious compounds of peas, beans, Indian and oatmeal, palmed off upon them under closely similar names, such as Revalenta, Arabian Revalenta, Arabica Food, Lentil Powder, &c., Messrs. Du Barry have taken the trouble of analyzing all these spurious imitations, and find them to be harmless as food to the healthy, but utterly devoid of all curative principles; and being of a flatulent and irritating tendency, they are no better adapted to cure disease than oil to quench a conflagration. They would indeed play sad havoc with the delicate stomach of an invalid or infant; and for this reason the public cannot too carefully avoid these barefaced attempts at imposture. Nor can these imitative impostors show a single cure, whilst

Du Barry's Revalenta Arabica has received the most flattering testimonials from 50,000 persons of high respectability.
DU BARRY & Co., 127, New Bond-street, London.

(Cure No. 75.)

From the Right Hon. the Lord Stuart de Decies.
"I have derived much benefit from Du Barry's Health-restoring Food."
STUART DE DECIES.
"Dromana, Cappoquin, county of Waterford."

(Cure No. 1,609.)

Letter from the Venerable Archdeacon of Ross.

"Aghadown Glebe, Skibbereen, Co. Cork,

August 27th, 1849.

"SIR,—I cannot speak too favourably of your Arabica Food. Having had an attack of bad fever about three years ago, I have ever since been suffering from its effects, producing excessive nervousness, pains in my neck and left arm, and general weakness of constitution, which has prevented me in a great degree from following my usual avocations; these sensations, added to restless nights, particularly after previous exercise, often rendered my life very miserable, but I am happy to say that, having been induced to try your Farina about two months since, I am now almost a stranger to these symptoms, which I confidently hope will be removed entirely, with the Divine blessing, by the continued use of this Food. I have an objection that my name should appear in print, which, however, in this instance, is overcome for the sake of suffering humanity. I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

"ALEX. STUART, Archdeacon of Ross."

(Cure No. 77.)

"Louisa-terrace, Exmouth.

"Dear Sir,—I beg to assure you that its beneficial effects have been duly appreciated by, dear Sir, most respectfully,

"THOMAS KING, Major-General."

(Cure No. 461.)

"Sixty years' partial paralysis, affecting one-half of my frame, and which had resisted all other remedies, has yielded to Du Barry's Health Restoring Food, and I now consider myself a stranger to all complaints, excepting a hearty old age."

"WM. HUNT, Barrister-at-law.

(Cure No. 180.)

"Twenty-five years' nervousness, constipation, indigestion, and debility, from which I had suffered great misery, and which no medicine could remove or relieve, have been effectually cured by Du Barry's Health Restoring Food in a very short time."

"W. R. REEVES.

(Cure No. 4,208.)

"Eight years' dyspepsia, nervousness, debility, with cramps, spasms and nausea, for which my servant had consulted the advice of many, have been effectually removed by Du Barry's Health Restoring Food in a very short time. I shall be happy to answer any inquiries."

"REV. JOHN W. FLAVELL.

(Cure No. 49,832.)

"Biddington Rectory, Norfolk."

(Cure No. 49,832.)

"Sir,—For fifty years I have suffered indescribable agony from dyspepsia, nervousness, asthma, cough, constipation, flatulency, spasms, sickness at the stomach, and vomitings, and been reduced to such a degree that I was unable to move without crutches. Flatulency, accompanied with difficulty of breathing and spasms in the chest, were often so bad that I had to sit up whole nights, and frequently my friends did not expect I could survive till morning. My sufferings were so awful that I have many a time prayed for death as a happy deliverer. I am very thankful to be able to say that your delicious Food has relieved me from these dreadful ailments, to the astonishment of all my friends. I sleep soundly, and am able to walk to church morning and evening, and do not remember ever having been so well as I am now. You are at liberty to make such use of this statement as you think will benefit other sufferers, and refer them to me."

(Cure No. 2,704.)

"I consider you a blessing to society at large. It is not to be told all the benefit Du Barry's Health Restoring Food has been to me; and my little boy cries for a saucer of it every morning."

"WALTER KEATING.

(Cure No. 3,906.)

"Thirteen years' cough, indigestion, and general debility, have been removed by Du Barry's excellent Health Restoring Food."

"JAMES PORTER.

(Cure No. 81.)

"Twenty years' liver complaint, with disorders of the stomach, bowels, and nerves, has been perfectly cured by Du Barry's Health Restoring Food."

"ANDREW FRASER.

(Cure No. 79.)

"Gentlemen,—The lady for whom I ordered your food is six months advanced in pregnancy, and was suffering severely from indigestion and constipation, throwing up her meals shortly after eating them, having a great deal of heartburn, and being constantly obliged to resort to physic or the enema, and sometimes to both. I am happy to inform you that your food produced immediate relief. She has never been sick since, had but little heartburn, and the functions are more regular, &c."

"THOMAS WOODHOUSE."

(Cure No. 7,843.)

"Having read by accident an account of your Revalenta Arabica Food, I was determined to try if it would do me only half the good others said they had derived from it; for I felt I should be well satisfied if such should prove the case, having for several years spent a great deal of money on physicians. Accordingly I commenced eating it three times a day. When I first read what other people said about your Food, I thought their letters must be puffs, but now I feel as though they had not said half enough in its praise."

"ELIZABETH JACOBS."

(Cure No. 49,962.)

"Dear Sir,—Allow me to return you my most sincere thanks for the very great benefit I have derived from the use of your Arabica Food. For ten years dyspepsia and nervous irritability had rendered life a perfect burthen to me. The best medical advice, frequent bleeding and blistering, and an astonishing amount of drugs, produced not the slightest abatement on my sufferings; in fact, I had given myself up, when providentially I met with your invaluable Food, and now am happy to be enabled to add my testimony to the many you already possess. It has done for me all that medicine failed to effect, for I am enjoying a state of health such as I have been a stranger to for many years. With my best wishes for your prosperity, as the discoverer of so valuable a Farina, I am ever gratefully yours,

"ELIZABETH YEOMAN."

A full report of important cures of the above and many other complaints, and a copious extract from 50,000 testimonials from parties of the highest respectability, is sent gratis by Du Barry and Co. on application.

Sold in canisters with full instructions, and bearing the seal and signature of Du Barry & Co. (without which none can be genuine), weighing 1lb. at 2s. 9d.; 2lbs. at 4s. 6d.; 5lbs. at 11s.; 12lbs. at 22s.; super-refined quality, 10lbs. at 33s.; 5lbs. at 22s.; 10lbs. and 12lbs. canisters forwarded, carriage free, on receipt of Post-office order, by Du Barry & Co., 127, New Bond-street, London; also of Fortnum, Mason & Co., Purveyors to her Majesty the Queen; Hedges and Butler; Barclay; Sterry; Sterry & Co.; Evans, Lecher & Co.; Edwards; Ramsey; Sutton; Newberry; Sanger; Hannay; and through all respectable grocers, chemists, medicine vendors, and booksellers in the kingdom.

DU BARRY'S PULMONIC BON BONNS.

A nice, safe, and effectual remedy for coughs, colds, asthma, and all affections of the lungs, throat, and voice, are of unrivalled excellency. In boxes 1s. 14d., 2s. 9d., 4s. 6d.; or, post free, 1s. 4d., 3s. 3d., 5s. 2d.

DU BARRY & CO., 127, New Bond-street, London.

Agents will please apply.

Perpetual Investment, Land, and Building Society.

37, NEW BRIDGE-STREET, BLACKFRIARS, LONDON.

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SECRETARY.

Mr. JOHN EDWARD TRESIDDER.

The DIRECTORS of the above SOCIETY invite attention to the following very judicious and sensible remarks of a Correspondent of the *Gateshead Observer* :—

"Building Societies have now been in existence for more than thirty years; and on account of their number, as well as the large capital invested in them, are become of the greatest importance. If they go on increasing in the ratio they have hitherto done, they will take even a more prominent position than Savings Banks, and will effect a greater amount of good amongst the industrious classes of society.

"The number already registered is about 2,435, and new societies are being formed almost daily. Their yearly income is now nearly five millions sterling, the whole of which is advanced from time to time on the security of real property, principally new houses. The beneficial operation of these societies on trade, and also in a political point of view, is incalculable. It may easily be foreseen, that they will become a most powerful engine for the increase of wealth in the middle and lower classes; and having once been set in motion, and obtained the protection of the Legislature, they will gradually move forward in their course of usefulness, raising many families and individuals to comparative independence, who, without such an inducement, and the force of example which such institutions create, would still be struggling with pecuniary difficulties, and might have sunk into the depths of poverty.

"Building Societies first commenced in Scotland, and soon spread through the populous towns in the manufacturing districts of England. They were afterwards started in London; and, becoming general, the attention of the Legislature was attracted to them, and laws were passed for their control and guidance; and it only requires a more thorough comprehension of them by the public to extend their usefulness much further.

"Until within a few years, these societies were formed on what is now called the 'terminating principle':—that is, the members, having entered the society, would continue to pay their subscriptions of 10s. a month for the purpose of lending it to those members who might require it.

"It was, however, ascertained, that this arrangement only suited those persons who were prepared to take shares at the commencement of the Society, and that those who might become investing or borrowing members, after the expiration of a year or two, would have to pay up backsubscriptions and premiums, making a much larger sum than they could well afford at starting. Thus, a person willing to become an investing member might be very well able to pay 10s. a-month, but not a sum of ten or twenty pounds, or more or less, as a premium, according to the number of years the Society had been in existence: and the borrowing member would be still less able to meet the heavy monthly payments required to liquidate the money borrowed from the Society in the required time.

"The manifestation of these difficulties occasioned the introduction of the 'permanent principle' by which an investor or borrower is enabled to enter the Society at any time which may be most convenient to himself, without any extra payment, and with the same advantages as an original member, thus entirely removing the difficulty respecting the back-payments, and also of finding borrowers at any period of the Society's existence, as must be the case towards the conclusion on the old plan, and consequent loss of interest—or otherwise to compel some of the members to take their shares whether convenient or not.

"Another advantage is, that the members know the exact period for which their subscriptions are to be paid, and the investors may withdraw from time to time without injury to the Society; for which purpose tables have been calculated with great care, so that the value of such share can be ascertained at any time. And as members of this class may also enter a permanent Society at any period, it will constantly obtain a fresh accession of strength, and the transactions of the Society will be more extensive, and create increased confidence from year to year. And as one transaction leads to another, a sort of business connexion is frequently formed, which is of great advantage. The repetition, too, of the initiatory expenses is avoided, and any casual loss, being spread over a longer period, is borne by a greater number of members.

"Enough has been said to show, that Building Societies, established on the permanent principle, are the most advantageous; and it would seem that the introduction of this improvement has rendered them available for all the purposes to which they can be adapted, unless they can be extended, with proper laws and regulations, so as to make advances to members on the security of personal property.

"Since the passing of the Act relating to Building Societies, and more especially since the formation of permanent Societies,

their operations have been greatly extended; and they now embrace within their sphere the various classes of society, from the learned profession and superior class of tradesmen, to the mechanic, artisan, and domestic servant. And these different classes, meeting together, with one common object in view, a feeling of good-will towards each other is produced, which prepares them to receive instruction and assistance from each other; and a public good, as well as an individual benefit, is achieved.

"Another important advantage is, that the members have an equal voice in the management of the affairs of the Society; and can examine into, and express their approval or disapproval of the proceeding of the ruling body, which is likely to prove beneficial to the Institution as well as to each individual member, and is consistent with one of the wisest of political maxims—that the people should be taught to help themselves and each other. Many useful provisions have been made in the Act referred to, by which the members are enabled to appoint arbitrators not interested in the affairs of the Society, to settle all disputes which might lead to litigation, and by which the property of the Society is protected and greatly benefited.

"Previous to the establishment of these Institutions, the usual mode of obtaining interest was the Savings Banks for small, and the public funds for larger sums. About 3 per cent. is the highest rate that can be obtained by these means; whereas these Societies pay at least 5 per cent. compound interest, commencing in small instalments; and the moment the first subscription is paid by a shareholder, he has the satisfaction of knowing that it begins to be productive, and with equal security for the principal.

"By Building Societies, persons in the industrious and middle classes of society are enabled to save money by the payment of small periodical instalments in so convenient a manner that the sums so paid are scarcely missed; and, in the course of a short time, by the gradual accumulation of those payments at compound interest, a considerable sum is realized for any purpose to which the investor may wish to apply it. He has also the advantage of withdrawing his money at any time when it may be most useful, on giving a short notice; and he will then receive interest to the period as indicated in the tables, in addition to the amount of his subscription; and he can then begin to save again in the same manner. And the division of the shares into fifths puts it within the reach of all classes to avail themselves of these advantages.

"Now, this is a mode of saving money which may be safely recommended by masters of large establishments to their assistants and workmen; and also by ministers of religion to their congregations; nothing being more charitable and wise than to induce those over whom we have influence, by judicious and well-timed advice, to become the architects of their own prosperity and comfort, by a prudent economy and the fostering of careful habits.

Then, again, these Societies afford to the members of the learned professions, to independent gentlemen of moderate fortunes, the superior class of tradesmen, and others in the middle classes of life, the opportunity of gradually, and with ease, accumulating a fund to place outchildren in professions or trades, for marriage portions, for the purchase of businesses or partnerships, or for paying off mortgages, and for many similar purposes."

* * * The Prospectus of the Perpetual Investment, Land, and Building Society, fully bears out the remarks above quoted: and will be forwarded upon the receipt of a penny postage stamp, and the Rules upon the receipt of six postage stamps, on application to the Secretary, at the Office of the Society, 37, New Bridge-street, Blackfriars, London.

J. E. TRESIDDER, Sec.

BEDSTEADS, BATHS, and LAMPS.—

WILLIAM S. BURTON has OPENED THREE LARGE ADDITIONAL SHOW-ROOMS, communicating with his original ones (which are the largest in the kingdom), devoted exclusively to the SEPARATE DISPLAY of Lamps, Baths, Metallic Bedsteads, and Bedding. The stock of each is at once the largest, newest, and most varied ever submitted to the public, and marked at prices proportionate to those that have tended to make his establishment the most distinguished in this country.

Bedsteads, from 12s. 6d. to £12 each.
Shower Baths, from 7s. 6d. to £7 each.
Lamp (Palmer's), from 1s. 6d. to £6 each.
(All other kinds at the same rate).

Palmer's Candles 6d. per lb.

WILLIAM S. BURTON'S Stock of GENERAL FURNISHING IRONMONGERY (including CUTLERY, NICKEL SILVER, and PLATED WARES) is literally the largest in the world, detailed Catalogues of which, with engravings, sent (per post) free. The money returned for every article not approved of.—39, OXFORD-STREET (corner of Newman-street), Nos. 1 and 2, NEWMAN-STREET and PERRY'S-PLACE, LONDON. Established in Wells-street, 1820.

SASSAFRAS CHOCOLATE.—Dr. DE LA

MOTTE'S nutritive, health-restoring, AROMATIC CHOCOLATE, prepared from the nuts of the Sassafras tree. This chocolate contains the peculiar virtues of the Sassafras root, which has been long held in great estimation for its purifying and alterative properties. The aromatic quality (which is very grateful to the stomach), most invalids require for breakfast an evening repast to promote digestion, and to a deficiency of this property in the customary breakfast and supper may, in a great measure, be attributed the frequency of cases of indigestion generally termed bilious. It has been found highly beneficial in correcting the state of the digestive organs, &c., from whence arise many diseases, such as eruptions of the skin, gout, rheumatism, and scrofula. In cases of debility of the stomach, and a sluggish state of the liver and intestines, occasioning flatulence, costiveness, &c., and in spasmodic asthma, it is much recommended.

Sold in pound packets, price 4s., by the PATENTEE, 12, Southampton-street, Strand, London; also by appointed agents, Chemists, and others.

N.B. For a list of agents, see Bradshaw's Guide. 6d.

ALPACA UMBRELLAS.—The economy, both

in the cost and wear of this umbrella, has been fully established, and proves that "Alpaca" will outlast any other material hitherto used for umbrellas. It may be obtained of most umbrella dealers in the United Kingdom, from 10s. 6d.—W. & J. SANGSTER, 140, Regent-street; 94, Fleet-street; 10, Royal Exchange; and 75, Cheapside.

Sole Agents for the United States, F. DERBY and Co., 12, Park-place, New York.

PERFECT FREEDOM FROM COUGHS IN TEN MINUTES,

And instant relief and a rapid cure of

ASTHMAS, CONSUMPTION, COUGHS, and all disorders of the Breath and Lungs, are insured by

DR. LOCOCK'S PULMONIC WAFERS.

The most wonderful cures of Asthma and Consumption, Coughs, Colds, and all Disorders of the Breath and Lungs, are everywhere performed by this extraordinary remedy.

CURES OF ASTHMA, COUGHS, &c., IN PRESTON.

Extract of a letter from Mr. H. Armstrong, Chemist, Church-street, Preston.

GENTLEMEN,—I can safely say that I have numbers of cases of cures of asthmas and coughs by the Pulmonic Wafers. Even children of two or three years of age I have seen them given to, and they have been cured by them. Of elderly people numbers have obtained the greatest benefit from them; many with the first or second box. To the greatest invalid I can recommend them with confidence, having seen the almost magical effects produced by them on coughs, colds, hoarseness, and difficulty of breathing. Indeed, gentlemen, the country little knows the beneficial effects that are to be derived from them, or no one with the slightest or most inveterate disease of the lungs would be without them. I can with much confidence recommend them, having seen so many hundred cases in which they have never failed.

One most intimate friend, who was for years troubled with an asthma, the oppression at his chest, wheezing, and difficulty of breathing was so great that you might have heard him breathe three or four yards off. After he had taken two boxes, he could get up and dress without coughing, and his breathing was perfectly free. On getting another box from me, he said, "they are, indeed, a wonderful medicine."

HENRY ARMSTRONG.

ANOTHER RAPID CURE OF COUGH IN LYNN.

From Mr. W. Harrison, Coronation-square.

SIR,—I was troubled with a severe cough for two or three years, which nothing relieved; but by taking one 2s. 9d. box of Locock's Wafers I have entirely lost it; I shall recommend them to all I know, for they cannot be too highly praised.

W. HARRISON.

IMPROVEMENT OF THE VOICE.

Extract of a letter from the Rev. Morgan James, Rhymney Iron Works, near Abergavenny.

SIR,—I have tried one box of Dr. Locock's Pulmonic Wafers for my voice, and received great benefit from them, &c.

M. JAMES, Baptist Minister.

The particulars of hundreds of cures may be had from every agent throughout the kingdom.

TO SINGERS and PUBLIC SPEAKERS they are invaluable, as in a few hours they remove all hoarseness, and wonderfully increase the power and flexibility of the voice.

They have a pleasant taste.

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DR. LOCOCK'S ANTIBILIOUS WAFERS.

They have a most pleasant taste.

Price 1s. 1d., 2s. 9d., and 11s. per box.

This is an aromatic and aperient medicine of great efficacy for regulating the secretions, and correcting the action of the stomach and liver, and is the only safe remedy for all Bilious Affections, Heartburn, Sick Head-ache, Giddiness, Pains in the Stomach, Flatulency, or Wind, and all those complaints which arise from Indigestion or Biliousness. It is mild in its action, and suitable for all seasons and constitutions, while its agreeable taste renders it the best Medicine for Children.

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Have a pleasant taste. They fortify the constitution at all periods of life, and in all Nervous Affections act like a charm. They remove all Obstructions, Heaviness, Fatigue on Sight Exertion, Palpitation of the Heart, Lowness of Spirits, Weakness, and allay pain. They create Appetite, and remove Indigestion, Heartburn, Wind, Headaches, Giddiness, &c. In Hysterical Diseases, a proper perseverance in the use of this Medicine will be found to effect a cure after all other means have failed. Full directions are given with every box.

NOTE.—These Wafers do not contain any Mineral, and may be taken either dissolved in water or whole.

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HOMOEOPATHIC COCOA STEAM MILLS,

LAMBETH.

STRATTON'S ORIGINAL HOMOEOPATHIC

COCOA is universally admitted to be the best and most wholesome of all drinks; its smooth, mild, and creamy flavour render it deliciously agreeable to the palate, and is particularly strengthening to children, the aged and infirm; it is an important article of diet. Cocoa is recommended by nearly all medical men for its known highly nutritious properties, but to obtain a good preparation is difficult, for such is the extent of adulteration of Cocoa, and that, too, under the character of Homoeopathic Cocoa, that many are induced to use the Cocoa Nib or Kernel, which is boiled for several hours, and when cold the oily substance is strained off and thrown away, thus the Cocoa is deprived of its primary recommendatory object.

We have had upwards of twenty years' extensive practical experience in the manufacture of Homoeopathic and various preparations of Cocoa, and our anxious study has been to produce a beverage that would suit the stomach, please the palate, and increase the sale; in this we have been most satisfactorily successful, for, notwithstanding our inventions have been pirated by unprincipled Chocolate Makers, envious of our good name, and who have condescended to the lowest grade of meanness by copying our labels, yet STRATTON'S HOMOEOPATHIC COCOA, PATENT CHOCOLATE POWDER and BROMA, are sold largely by nearly every grocer in the kingdom, and they are still unrivalled for their genuineness, delicacy of flavour, and moderation in price; they may be taken with benefit by even the most bilious, as the essence, or the oil of the Cocoa Nut, are so carefully incorporated with the flour of sago, and arrowroot, that it may be justly called the best of all drinks.

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